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ART. I.—THE HUGUENOTS OF THE SOUTH.

HE who writes to elicit information is often more useful than he who undertakes to convey it; because the former may bring to light, concentrate and embody hidden stores of knowledge from a hundred sources, whilst the latter only furnishes us the facts, witnessed or collected by a single individual.

We have in vain attempted to ferret out the facts and incidents that would enable us to write a history of the Exodus of the Southern Huguenots from France, their perils, their sufferings, their wanderings by land and by sea, until they found quiet, peaceful, honorable homes in the Southern States of America. The history of each immigrant, or at least of each immigrant family, was probably as eventful, as pathetic, as full of "hair-breadth 'scapes" and thrilling interest, as the wanderings of the Trojans and Greeks after the fall of Troy, in search of new homes, or struggling to return to old homes. Indeed, there is a striking and instructive resemblance between the wanderings of the pious Æneas and his Trojans, and those of the Huguenots. To preserve their religion, and to find a country where they might cultivate it and practice it in peace, appears to have been the prime object of the Trojans, from the first to the last page of the Æneid. Like the Huguenots, too, they were cast from shore to shore, and from land to land, until at last they found quiet seats in a fertile land, under a warm and genial sun, and among a kind, generous and appreciative people. They (the Huguenots) have multiplied as fast as the Israelites in Canaan; and they have grown in wealth, in reputation and in honor,

quite as fast as they have increased in numbers. Their exodus and settlement in America resembles, too, in many particulars, the exodus of the Jews from Egypt; and suggests the thought that this quitting country for the sake of religion and of conscience has been a common thing in the history of mankind, and one intended by Providence to purify and elevate human character. We assume, of course, that the Eneid, though not literally true, is deduced from and combines a great many truths. Emigration for religion's sake had been common, else the great Epic of Virgil would have been an improbable and uninteresting tale. The reality of religion, as the most powerful motive of human action, and the most efficient means of purifying the human soul and of elevating human character, is in nothing so evident as in religious emigrations. It should take its rank as one among the "evidences of the truth of Christianity."

Whilst we see in the aggregate the wonderful and praiseworthy action of the migrating Huguenots, we know little of it in its details. Their written history stops with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, just as their living and actual history becomes most eventful, most interesting, and most big with disastrous consequence to France, which they deserted, and with beneficent and glorious results to Switzerland, England, America, and other countries in which they settled. We would like to see this great desideratum in history supplied, and suggest, that before the materials are lost, some member of each immigrant Huguenot family either write a book or pamphlet, giving a history of his family, or furnish to newspapers and reviews family anecdotes, that, in time, might be collected into one, and be a guide and magazine of facts for the future historiographer of the Huguenots of the South.

We have just finished the perusal of a book, entitled "The Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, translated and compiled from the original autobiography of the Rev. James Fontaine, and other family manuscripts, comprising an original journal of travels in Virginia, New York, &c., in 1715 and 1716." "By Ann Maury." This work, although exceedingly entertaining, interesting and instructive, furnishes us little material for our proposed history. It is entirely too modest in its pretensions and in its execution. Miss Maury writes as if she were sure that nobody would feel the slightest interest in the Fontaines (or De la Fontaines) and their descendants, the Maurys, except the mem-

bers of their families, and hence confines herself strictly to mere family history. She does not seem to be aware that the Fountaines and Maurys, their kith, kin, connection and personal friends, have become quite an important element in the society of a considerable part of Eastern Virginia, nor that both England and America feel some interest in Mr. Maury, who filled for so many years, with honorable distinction, the office of American Consul at Liverpool; and most strange of all, she never seems to dream that the world cares about hearing of the ancestry of Professor Maury, whose reputation is world-wide, and who, as a natural philosopher, stands second to no living man; whose fame pervades Christendom; who is lauded by land, and almost worshipped by the tempest-tossed mariner on the briny deep. Miss Maury is by far too modest; the annals of her family possess general interest, and she should have diverged more into general political history. Yet her book answers one admirable purpose. From the memoirs of the Rev. James Fontaine, who fled from France to England, and from thence removed to Ireland—whose wandering life was more distinguished by courage and adventure, more chequered with incidents, more marked by frequent and sudden alternations of prosperity and adversity, more full of joys and of sorrows than the fabled lives of Ulysses or Æneas—from his life we may learn, or fairly imagine, what were the lives, the dangers, the sufferings of the rest of the Huguenots. But this does not satisfy our curiosity—we are anxious to see very many other family histories of a like character.

The origin and derivation of the term "Huguenot," like that of "Whig" and "Tory," is lost in oblivion. Probably all three names were given at first as mere nick-names, given by enemies to express derision, contempt and reproach. It is commonly said that the Huguenots belonged to the middle classes of society. This is not true; they belonged to the best, if not, nominally, to the highest class of society. The middle class of society, the people only distinguished as "well-to-do in the world," who are respected merely because they are in comfortable pecuniary circumstances, have no consciences, no faith, no convictions, care for nothing but property, because property is the only thing that gives them consequence or respectability.

The man who sacrifices country and estate for religion, belongs to the highest type of the human race, whether he

be a Coligny, a Condé, a Bayard, a Henry of Navarre, a clergyman, or a poor silk weaver. It is from the loins of such men alone that great nations are built up. The ignorant adopt the religion of their State; and bad men any religion to profit by. Large numbers of the French nobility were Huguenots, and many more of noble descent, whose circumstances having become too narrow to support the dignity of nobility, and being obliged to resort to trades, no longer retained the names or titles peculiar to the aristocracy. The Fontaines and Maurys were both noble families. De la Fontaine was the original name of the Fontaines, but they had, for two or three generations before migrating to America, dropped the "De la," because "De" and "De la" are aristocratic prefixes, which betoken nobility. In England the "De" had frequently been dropped, even with wealthy, noble houses, as in the case of the Brents, whose true name is De Brent. This changing of names is all wrong, for it confuses and falsifies history, and destroys the evidence of family connexion and identity.

The larger number of the Huguenots, however, were well-informed, ingenious mechanics, and learned clergymen, each of whom possessed individual merit that made him greater and more useful than the mere hereditary nobleman. It was the loss of half a million of these latter classes that exhausted and almost ruined France, and stimulated science, art and industry in the countries to which they migrated.

All the French have probably more of Roman blood in their veins than of any other. Their language, laws, institutions and turn of thought prove them to be a Latin people. This was especially the case with the Huguenots, who abounded most in the south of France, which was first conquered and settled by the Romans. The "nostra Provincia" of the Romans, the modern Provence, was conquered and Latinized before the time of Julius Caesar, and there the Huguenots most abounded. Besides Roman blood, these men probably possessed a good deal of Greek blood, for the Greek colony at Marseilles was settled before the Roman conquest; and we find, in Caesar's day, that the Helvetic, at the head of the Rhone and on the borders of Germany, employed the Greek letters to keep their muster roll. The Greek colony must have been a large one to have spread its influence so far. Indeed, the French character is a blended likeness of the Greek and Roman. The Huguenots, like the Romans, are classically and compactly

proportioned, betraying, in the outlines of their persons and fine muscular development, the "*multum in parvo*." They are smaller men than the Germans, but stronger and more active. This was proved as to their ancestors, the Romans, by Cæsar, in the hand to hand fight with the Nervie, a Germano-Gallic tribe, in which nothing but the superior bodily strength could have secured victory to the Romans. After the battle of Waterloo, Sir Walter Scott visited the hospitals of Paris, and, seeing the immense beds of muscle exhibited in the arms and legs of the (seemingly small) wounded soldiers, was no longer surprised at the great physical prowess of the French. Like the Romans, they were fine specimens of the "*multum in parvo*." We know several Huguenot families in which this excessive muscular development impairs the beauty of countenance; for hard knots of muscle are not becoming to the face. For fear of offending the ladies, we shall not name the families to which we allude.

The Huguenots are a Mediterranean people, a very superior race, both in mind and body, and constitute the best element of Southern society. Next to them stand the Anglo-Norman, the purity of whose blood has been impaired by intermarriage with the Anglo-Saxon. The Normans who conquered England were men of Southern extract, and not *Northmen*, as the English, to avoid confessing a conquest of their country by the French, falsely allege.

Although the Huguenots are a very modest, amiable, unambitious people, with none of the pushing greed and rapacity of the English, and although subjected to the prejudice of race, they have furnished more than their quota of the great and useful men of the nation. Whether in public station, or in private life, they have been distinguished for the blameless simplicity and purity of their conduct. With clear judgments and strong convictions, they have shown no disposition to interfere improperly in the judgments and convictions of other people. How favorably they contrast with the Puritans of the North, who begun by persecuting people who would not conform to their faith, and are ending by having no faith at all—whose religious convictions were too strong in the beginning, and whose infidel convictions are now as obtrusive and intolerant as their former religious bigotry.

The Huguenots continue to be an eminently religious people, and the pulpit is their favorite theatre of action.

When they came to Virginia, to be a parson was synonymous with being a drunkard. Here, as in England, at every feast, "some doctor of tremendous paunch" bore off the palm in drinking. The evil was severely felt, and much complained of, in Virginia, and many attempts were made to get sober clergymen from England. The Dissenters were proverbially sober, and the Church of England seemed to consider sobriety a breach of orthodoxy, if not a badge of heresy.

The Huguenot immigrants remedied all this. They were learned and pious; generally joined the Established Church, and, besides, taught schools. In both vocations they gave entire satisfaction, and gentlemen ceased to send their sons to England to be educated, when they found better teachers at home. Three of the nine Presidents of Congress during the Revolution (the highest civil officers in the Republic) were of Huguenot descent, to wit: Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, John Jay, of New York, and Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey. The distinguished family of the Bayards, of Delaware and New Jersey, are also of Huguenot descent. They are not unworthy descendants of their illustrious ancestor, whose motto was "*sans peur et sans reproche*." The De Bows, also, first settled in New Jersey, but like many other Huguenot families, a branch afterwards removed farther South, and settled permanently in South Carolina, intermarrying with the Nortons. The Nortons were of Welsh extract, and took an active part on the American side, at the siege of Charleston, and on other occasions during the Revolutionary war.

Mr. Vallandigham, member of Congress from Ohio, is also of Huguenot descent. His family first settled in the lower Northern Neck of Virginia, where some of them still reside. No member of the last Congress was more distinguished for learning and ability. He retains his attachment to Virginia, and is true as steel to the South.

Hon. Daniel C. DeJarnette, or more properly De Jarnette, who represented the Richmond district in the last Congress, is also of Huguenot extract. He took a decidedly leading part in urging on secession, and was the foremost of the Virginia delegation in proposing that Virginia should follow the lead of South Carolina. His last speech in Congress was the boldest and most thorough defence of slavery ever made in that body; the best defence, because, from beginning to end, he carried the war into Africa, and maintained that slave-society was rightful and normal, and all

other forms of society wrongful and abnormal. Better speeches have been made in Congress, but none so good a defence of Southern institutions.

The Dejarquettes originally settled in Amelia county, Virginia. They removed thence to Caroline county, where they have resided for several generations. The whole family, with its numerous and influential connections, are as decided and zealous secessionists as the Hon. D. C. Dejarquette himself.

Bishop Meade, in his "Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia," gives much interesting and useful information as to the Huguenots of Virginia. He devotes one chapter, in his first volume, to the history of their settlement at Manakintown, on James' river, in King William parish, now in Powhattan county. "By Act of Assembly, in 1690, it was assigned to the French refugees who were driven from their country by the persecutions of Louis XIV." The Edict of Nantes was *revoked* in 1685, not, as Bishop Meade, by oversight, has stated, granted in that year. It was granted by Henry IV, in 1598. We find five years elapsing between the revocation of the Edict and the settlement of the Huguenots on James' river. In the meantime, they had probably been wandering, or temporarily residing, in many European States. No men, in modern times, have suffered such trials for conscience sake, as did these immigrants. The ordeal through which they passed elevated their characters, and the reminiscence of it continues to elevate the characters of their posterity. Their adventures would form more interesting and instructive stories than all the novels, and poems, and dramas, and epics, that were ever written. How different from the immigrants that have poured in upon the North for the last twenty years?—men who have come among us to gratify mere animal wants, like herds of buffalo in search of better pastures; or criminals, traitors, agrarians, and infidels, "who have quit their country for their country's good." We know there have been many valuable men among the late immigrants to America, but the worthless, the seditious, the vicious and the dangerous, compose nine-tenths of the whole.

Bishop Meade says that the Huguenots began to settle in Virginia as early as the year 1660, and that many settled on the Rappahannock. In the County of Essex, on the Rappahannock, there are many Huguenot families. They are highly respected, and have given tone and character to

the society around them. It is the most orderly and religious county in the Commonwealth, and although the wealthiest, in proportion to population, its citizens are as remarkable for plainness, affability, and simplicity of deportment, as for their cordial hospitality. They are a serious, earnest people, and evince in all things that strength of conviction, steadiness of purpose, and moderation of manner, that distinguish Huguenot character everywhere in the South. They are of the Roman race, and the picked people of that race; they were tried and purified in the ordeal of danger and adversity; purged, like the army of Gideon, of all base and worthless material. It is they who have given character to South Carolina, and placed her ahead of all other nations. South Carolina has effected a great and glorious revolution as calmly and quietly as other States enact ordinary laws. Her indomitable courage, her lofty and devoted chivalry, indulges in no bullying, or noise and bluster. She marches straight forward to her purpose, with calm and collected mien, and knows, "*Nulla vestigia retrorsum.*" Henry IV, of France, the bravest of the brave, once said to his aristocratic followers, that "Gentleman" is our highest title. South Carolinians are all heroes—and more than heroes—they are gentlemen.

Descendants of Huguenots are scattered throughout all the South, and constitute more than a million of our population. Whilst they have done most to elevate and form South Carolina character, they have done much to modify and improve all Southern character.

Descended ourselves of cavaliers and Jacobites, and proud of the races from which we come, truth, candor and historic research compel us to admit that the Huguenots are a superior people to either cavaliers or Jacobites.

To continue our citations from Bishop Meade; he thus concludes the chapter to which we have already referred: "Nothing now remains but that I mention the names of those families still remaining in Virginia who derive their descent from Huguenots; from information coming through books and individuals, they are as follows: Marze, Fontaine, Dupuy, Harris, Sublett, Watkins, Markham, Sully, Chasteen, Duvall, Bondurant, Flournoy, Potter, Michaux, Pemberton, Mumford, Hatcher, Jaquiline, Bernard, Barraud, Latané, Moneure, Agée, Amonet, Chadouin, Dibrell, Farrar, Fuqua, Jeter, Jordan, Jouette, Le Grand, Lignon, Maupin, Maxey, Pasteur, Perron, Thweatt, Maury, Massy, Boisseau, Fouche, Lanier, La Neue. Concerning a few of

them, it may be questioned whether they be not of Welsh extract, while there are, doubtless, others that might be added."

In Ramsay's History of South Carolina, beginning at page 5, vol. I, there is some interesting matter as to the settlement of the Huguenots in that State. It is entirely too meagre, considering the importance of the subject. In a note there is an account of the adventures and sufferings of the Manigault family, that fortifies and confirms our theory, that the history of each immigrant would constitute a thrilling epic!

We have no room for this note, but quote as follows:

"The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fifteen years subsequent to the settlement of South Carolina, contributed much to its population. In it, soon after that event, were transplanted from France the stocks from which have sprung the respectable families of Bonneau, Bonnetheau, Bordeaux, Benoist, Boisseau, Bocquet, Bacot, Chavalier, Cordes, Couturier, Chastaigner, Dupre, Delisle, Dubose, Dubois, Deveaux, Dutarque, De la Conselione, De Lesseline, Douxssaint, Du Pont, De Bourdieu, De Harriette, Faucheraud, Foissin, Faysoux, Gaillard, Gendron, Gignilliat, Guerard, Godin, Girard-eau, Guerin, Gourdin, Horry, Huger, Jeannerette, Legare, Laurens, La Roche, Lenud, Lansac, Marion, Mayzek, Manigault, Mellichamp, Mouson, Michau, Neufville, Prioleau, Perronneau, Perdriau, Porcher, Postell, Peyre, Poyas, Ravenel, Roger, Simons, St. Julien, Serre, Trezevant."

In a note, not the one already referred to, we find:

"The Rev. Elias Prioleau, the founder of the eminently respectable family of that name in South Carolina, migrated thither soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and brought with him from France a considerable part of his Protestant congregation. He was the grandson of Anthoine Prioli, who was elected Doge of Venice in the year 1618. Many of his numerous descendants, who were born and constantly resided in or near Charleston, have approached or exceeded their seventieth year, and several have survived, or now survive, to their eightieth."

ART. II.—THE DIVINE LEGATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.—ARE ALL MEN CREATED FREE!—ARE ALL MEN CREATED WHITE.

1. In the eighteenth century the learned Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote a book of stupendous erudition to prove the Divine Legation of Moses; and in the nineteenth, there are some who seem to think that a similar work, on behalf of Thomas Jefferson, would be both practicable and of great utility. But, as there were sceptics in the days of Warburton, so now there are those who reject the Divine Legation of Thomas Jefferson, and class the Declaration of Independence among the uninspired scrip-

tures. The portion of that instrument which figures most largely in the discussion is as follows:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

With substantial, though not with verbal fidelity, so much of this extract as relates to liberty and equality is frequently condensed, especially in oral controversies, into the brief maxim, "All men are born free and equal." Over this the combat deepens year by year. The opposing forces, in their most general classification, must be distinguished, not with reference to their estimate of Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence, but with reference to the institution of African slavery, which the one class opposes and the other advocates.

2. The anti-slavery class of contestants are all Jeffersonian to such a degree that they have incorporated the above extract into their party creed, and inscribed upon their political phylacteries the aphorism into which it has been condensed. And they take each word in its ordinary colloquial sense. They hold that "all" means "ALL," and admits of no exception; that "men" means "MEN," and needs no adjective. They insist that it is clearly the doctrine of Mr. Jefferson, promulgated in "that sacred instrument, the Declaration of Independence," that all men are created free and equal; therefore all men are, and of right ought to be, free and equal. With them the force of reason can no farther go. They say:

As well deny arithmetically, that two and two make four; or deny geometrically, that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points; as to deny the axiomatic, self-evident, beaming truth, that all men are equal.—*Sumner.*

Their argument, reduced to syllogistic form, stands thus:

Major premise,—All men are born free;

Minor premise,—All negroes are men;—therefore,

Conclusion,—All negroes are born free.

Thus far they all concur; but here we find a division. Taking this conclusion for truth, one school of them go farther, and say that the Bible contradicts this truth, and is, therefore, false. So wedded are they to their theory, that they reject the Divine Legation of Moses rather than of Jefferson; the plenary inspiration of the Bible, rather than of the Declaration of Independence. The other school cling, with more or less tenacity, to the word of God, but close their eyes to some passages, and wrest others to their purpose, and so "teach otherwise" than

instructed by the Apostle Paul, "and consent not to wholesome words, the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness.* Nay, some of them, who set themselves forward as holy men of God, proclaimers of the gospel of Christ, approach the infidel school so near that they even renounce and denounce the holy God himself, on the hypothesis that His thoughts are not as their thoughts on the subject of slavery, and that He can look on it with the least degree of allowance.† Mr. Lincoln proclaimed, in 1858, that the wise statesmen who framed "that immortal emblem of humanity, the Declaration of Independence," knowing "the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, established these great self-evident truths." In one sense, God alone can establish truths; and in the only sense in which man can be said to establish them, namely, by evidence, there is no need to establish truths that are self-evident. Again, Mr. Lincoln says:

"If you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to the suggestions which would take away from its grandeur, and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, let me entreat you to come back to the truths that are declared in the Declaration of Independence."

Some of this class, waxing grimly waggish, say to their antagonists that Mr. Jefferson omitted a very important word from "the chart of liberty;" that he ought to have said, "all *white* men are created equal;"—a sally which is very brilliant, if wit improves, like wine with age, or, like a meerschaum pipe, with use. For an exemplification of the admirable consistency of this class, it is not necessary to look farther than the northern State Constitutions. In the bill of rights they declare, as in Massachusetts, that "all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights;" or, as in Maine, that "all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights." Under the generic term "men," all human beings, without distinction of complexion, age, sex, and certainly without reference to *property*, are included. Yet these Constitutions limit the elective franchise, as in Massachusetts, to *male* persons, *aged* twenty-one years, *residents* of a certain locality for a given time, and possessed of a specified amount of *property*; or they expressly except, as in Maine, paupers,

* 1 Tim., vi, 3.

† Henry Ward Beecher's Fast Day Sermon.

persons under guardianship, and Indians not taxed. Thus, on their own showing, these Constitutions deprive several classes of men of their birthright—equality.

3. The crusading squadrons under Godfrey of Bouillon, were scarcely more various in nationality than the pro-slavery class of combatants in doctrinal complexion. They may be distinguished into four schools, of which the first admit that the anti-slavery syllogism is true in its premises and correct in its conclusion; yet insist that the cause of slavery is none the worse for that. Their reasoning is substantially as follows:

“That all men are born free, is not to be disputed. No infant is subject to slavery, because free from both civil and moral obligation, being incapable, by nature, of comprehending the obligation of moral rule. The slave himself was created in a state of freedom from the institution of slavery, because slavery is moral, and, therefore, the slave is not morally bound by it until he arrives at years of accountability. But, at the age of accountability, he passes out of the natural into the social state. In the days of Noah, God subjected the descendants of Ham to the state of slavery; therefore, it is right and moral, being the will of God. Slavery, as a system of social life, prevails between the black and the white man; therefore, slavery, as a system of rules, constitutes a right system between the black and the white races—a system having the Divine sanction.”*

The very popular argument in favor of slavery, deduced from the curse pronounced by Noah upon the descendants of Canaan, the son of Ham, involves the idea, that whatever is prophesied in the word of God has His approbation, and is therefore right. This would justify the betrayal of Jesus by Judas; His rejection by the Jews, and His crucifixion by the “wicked hands” of the Roman soldiery. The argument that slavery exists as a social system, and is therefore right, is a special application of the untenable doctrine of Pope, that

Spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
One truth is clear, **WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.**

Whether it be true that all men are created free and equal, depends on the sense in which these adjectives are employed. They are relative terms. To decide the question it is necessary to know in regard to what conditions the liberty and equality of men are to be tested. Are all men created equal in size, weight, health, strength, beauty, worldly circumstances and expectancies? It is fairly presumable that Mr. Jefferson affirmed equality of political rights alone; but even in this restricted sense, equality can-

* De Bow's Review, New Series; vo.. IV, pp. 171, 175—August, 1860.

not be predicated of all men, unless they be contemplated apart from their social surroundings; and this involves a contradiction, since it shuts out the idea of political rights altogether. Before answering whether all men are born free, it is to be inquired, "Free from what?" They are certainly free from "moral and civil control" until they "arrive at years of accountability;" or, in other words, free from them till they become subject to them. Compared with the slave in prison, the slave at large is free; but, at the same time, he is not free with reference to his master. In some aspects, that *no* man is born free, "is not to be disputed." None is born free from natural laws. And what creature, at its birth, is more entirely dependent, more utterly destitute of volition, more subject to arbitrary disposition by other beings, than even the monarch born? Is he free to do what he wills, to go where he wills, or to remain where he is when the nurse wills that he shall be removed? Even in a political sense, that all are not born free, is simply a stubborn truth, which it is folly to deny. The Abolitionist himself means only that all *ought to be* born free; that freedom is their *right*. But he is not born politically free, the circumstances of whose birth, as civil society is organized around him, subject him to involuntary servitude when he shall have arrived "at years of accountability." He whom the municipal laws, under which he is born, exempt from such future servitude, except as a punishment for his own crimes, is born free in the limited sense of the law.

4. The second school of pro-slavery disputants are distinguishable into two varieties—the one exegetical, the other emendatory. Neither deny, but the former explain, the latter modify, the Jeffersonian maxim which the common enemy have adopted as their major premise. The exegetical variety rely on that hermeneutical canon which requires a consideration of the scope or design of the writer, and the historic circumstances surrounding him at the time when he wrote. They say that when the Declaration of Independence was written, the colonies were groaning under the oppressive Government of England, and contemplated a scission from that Government; that Mr. Jefferson's design was to justify that scission to mankind; hence his meaning must be circumscribed by the periphery of the Constitution and the laws of England. The clause in question, therefore, means that, under the British Constitution, all men are born equal; in other words, that all

British subjects are born equal. Unfortunately for this exegesis, the Declaration does not attribute it to the British Constitution, but to the CREATOR, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right of liberty. "Is He the God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles, also," says the apostle Paul.* And is He the Creator of the Anglo-Saxon only? Is He not also of the Saxon, the Gaul, the Italian, the Spaniard, the Ethiopian? Yes, of these also. If, then, all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with liberty, the dowry belongs as much to these as to the British subject. Nor can it be denied that Mr. Jefferson himself held his doctrine as applicable not more to Americans than to the French, with whom he sympathized in their efforts to establish a republican government. Nay, more; he applied the doctrine to the negro, too, for, in a paragraph of the Declaration, rejected by the signers, he charged the Crown of England with violating human nature's "most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people,..... captivating and carrying them into slavery," &c. But more than that; the Constitution and laws of England say no more for the white man than for the Canaanite. In the cases of *Smith vs. Brown and Cooper*, and *Smith vs. Gould*,† the Court affirmed that "the common law takes no notice of negroes being different from other men." Lord Chief Justice Holt declared that "as soon as a negro comes into England he becomes free." If the same provision did not operate in Virginia, the reason is assigned by the same Judge. "The laws of England do not extend to Virginia, being a conquered country, their law is what the King pleases." Again, the Constitution and law, by whose light we are asked to interpret the Declaration of Independence, speak thus, in the language of the bard of Olney—

"Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free;
They touch our country, and their shackles fall."‡

And, again, hear the voice of the law of England in the words of Curran :

"I speak in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil; which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the

* Rom. iii, 29.

† Salkeld's Reports, 666; 2 Ld. Raymond's Rep., 1274, S. C.

‡ Cowper's Task, Book II, line 40.

genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.*

It thus appears from the concurrent testimony of the judge, the poet, and the orator, that, in whatever sense the British laws and Constitution award freedom to any man, they award it to all men, irrespective of birth or complexion. If, then, in the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson declared a principle of the British Constitution, and claimed it for the colonies, he claimed what would have been as available to the negro as to the white man. But, again: in the very focal point of the British dominion, one babe is born heir to the sceptre and the crown, while within a stone's cast hundreds are born to penury and toil. Such is the equality established by the Constitution of Great Britain. Then, did Mr. Jefferson invoke that Constitution when he wrote "all men are created equal?" Nay, he then assailed that Constitution. He did not say, "We hold these truths to be evident from the law and Constitution of England," but, "We hold these truths to be SELF-evident."

5. On the other hand, the *emendators* see clearly that the Jeffersonian maxim contradicts existing facts; that negro slaves are not born free and equal to the white man; therefore, without resorting to ingenious methods of explaining away the discrepency, they undertake for Jefferson what Mr. Collier has for Shakespeare—to restore the original text. They seriously adopt what their antagonists utter in derision, and insist that, by a mere oversight of Mr. Jefferson, or an omission by his amanuensis, the word "white" was omitted, he having intended to say, "All *white* men are created equal." These persons possess, at least, the merit of being unsophisticated. If they would open their eyes a little wider, they would perceive that the amended text is still wide of the truth.

6. The third school of pro-slavery disputants are the political heretics already alluded to. With the Declaration of Independence staring them in the face, they flatly deny

* Speech in behalf of Mr. Rowan.

the major premise of the anti-slavery syllogism. Of these, their Jeffersonian allies would say, perhaps, that they are not sufficiently patient and philosophic, but are of that Alexandrian temperament which prefers to cut Gordian knots rather than puzzle themselves about untying them, and are driven into political infidelity or heresy by the omission of the word "WHITE" from the Jeffersonian axiom. If, however, the possession of truth in greater measure be a criterion of superiority in philosophy, the balance must be struck in favor of those who will not receive even the most popular maxim without examination. Those who do not believe in the Divine Legation of Thomas Jefferson, nor the plenary inspiration of the Declaration of Independence, recognize in him a fallible, and some would say a very peccable mortal, and esteem the Declaration a very meritorious, but uninspired document, which has done much for America and the world, but which is no less amenable to criticism than any other human composition. These heretics dispute what the orthodox say is not to be disputed. They say that all men are *not* created free and equal; that liberty is *not* an "inalienable" right. One speaketh in this wise:

"None can deny that Jefferson was a pure and disinterested patriot; but it is none the less true that he suffered his ambition, stimulated by vehement opposition, to lead him into the advocacy of principles and doctrines which, if traced to their consequences, would prove totally subversive of those grand ideas of human liberty and emancipation, which he so zealously labored to establish and perpetuate. From the speculative philosophy of the French revolutionists he imbibed many of those extreme and radical notions of government which he attempted, and with no little success, to incorporate into American politics."* "He was the apostolic head and expounder of the new creed—the friend of Paine, the pupil of Danton and Murat, the promulgator of the opinions and doctrines of the 'fierce democracy.' His republicanism meant the republicanism of Couthon, Anacharsis, Clootz and St. Just—red, very red, and right red republicanism—the republicanism of numerical force, mob violence, popular frenzy, and democratic license. It meant no government, no law, no order, but such as should express the wild and irregular impulses of a drunken and irresponsible multitude. A system, social and political, embodying the principles of Rousseau, and the ethics of Proudhon; recognizing no authority, but the empire of the 'higher law;' admitting no fixed rule of conduct, but the illumination of the 'inner light;' and acknowledging no obligation longer than passion and temporary expediency should decree its repudiation and annulment."†

Then Jefferson was not infallible. Another does not hesitate to say that the principles above quoted from the Declaration of Independence,

* De Bow's Review, New Series, Vol. III, p. 619; June, 1860.

† *Id.*, Vol. V, pp. 193, 191; February, 1861. Received since this article was written.

"Are at war with the institution of domestic slavery, and equally at war with Christian marriage, and with private property in lands: for such marriage deprives the wife of liberty, which is *"inalienable;"* and property in lands destroys human equality, and begets serious loss of liberty—for the landholders can command the labor of the landless, and thus deprive them of liberty; or, if they refuse to work, starve them, and thus deprive them of life."*

Yet another, in an essay, received since this article was written, says:

"It is assumed by writers on natural law to be an incontestable principle that 'all men inherit from nature perfect liberty and independence.' This maxim, almost universally received as a truism, is supported by neither philosophy nor experience. The marriage relation, no less than the parental relation, is a natural relation If marriage is a natural relation, society must also be a natural relation, for the one is the logical consequence of the other. Man, at his birth, is but a helpless animal, imperfect in body as well as in mind, guided by instinct instead of reason, and dependent for his physical growth and mental development on some of the individual members of existing society. This state of infantile helplessness and absence of moral accountability, precludes the idea that man, at the outset of his social career, enjoys the advantages of perfect liberty and perfect independence. . . . Even after he has attained to the perfection of manhood he cannot escape the necessity of surrendering his personal opinions, and his ideas of right and justice, to the traditional and positive rules and regulations of the predominant civilization, which are the accumulated results of experience, and the natural fruit of progressive intellectuality."†

7. The fourth school of pro-slavery disputants attack the anti-slavery syllogism in its minor proposition. They admit the major, that all men are born free, but imagine that they have discovered some esoteric meaning in the word "men," as employed in the Jeffersonian aphorism. To establish that meaning, they draw largely on the Bible, and still more copiously on the imagination; they climb genealogical *trees*, grub among Hebrew *roots*, dig down into the bowels of the earth, wrap themselves in the mantle of philosophy, and surround themselves with a body-guard of sciences. They handle the subject theologically, geologically, oryctologically, palæontologically, archæologically, chronologically, genealogically, orismologically, philologically, etymologically, zoologically, herpetologically, ophiologically, mazologically, physiologically, osteologically, myologically, ethnologically, psychologically, sociologically, and often, quite illogically. One declares that, in the memorable passage above quoted from the Declaration of Independence, "Mr. Jefferson used the word MEN in its original Hebrew sense;"‡ but fails to show that Mr. Jefferson knew one Hebrew letter, from *aleph* to *tau*; or knew that there

* Id., Vol. IV, p. 177: August, 1860.

† Id., Vol., V, pp. 198, 199: February, 1861.

‡ Id. Vol. IV, p. 134: August, 1860.

was anything peculiar in the Hebrew sense of the word "men;" or that he was capable of doing a thing so silly as to use words in a sense which would not be understood by one in a thousand of those for whom he wrote. On the hypothesis of his Divine Legation, indeed; this would not be necessary, for, under the theopneustic impulse, he might have used words in a sense not fully revealed to himself, and whose occult meaning it was reserved for later wisdom to unfold. That wisdom, going back to the nomenclature of Eden, employs a vast amount of learning and ingenuity to prove that there were human races inferior to the Adamic race; that "the inferior races *were black*," and never designated by the word *Adam*, or *man*, but by the word *nachash*; and that "the Adamic race appropriated the terms *man* and *mankind* exclusively to itself." It is to be feared that some who thus learnedly discourse, are often rather in pursuit of what is *new* than of what is *true*. And, after all, the distinction between them and those who would be content to insert the word "white" in the Declaration of Independence, is rather apparent than real. They affirm that the word "men" is used in that instrument "in its original Hebrew sense;" that this sense was applied "exclusively" to the white race, and therefore excludes black men; which simply means that, when Mr. Jefferson wrote "men," he meant "*white men*." Thus the partition that divides great wit from madness is scarce so thin as that which sometimes intervenes between great learning and simplicity. And, after all, the learned theory, so far as it relates to Mr. Jefferson's use of the word *MEN*, melts into thin air before the expunged paragraph before alluded to, in which the King of England is complained of, on account of the African slave trade, which is designated as "a market where *MEN* should be bought and sold."

8. Apart from its bearing on the merits of the Declaration of Independence, and the dignification of its author, it may be worth while to spend some moments in examining this *nachash* theory. And here the path of inquiry conducts to the inspired Scriptures, a holy ground where it is proper to stand with unsaddled feet, and proceed with circumspection. Some there are who, more or less advanced in scepticism, are disposed, on the one hand, to reject such portions of the word of God as rise above the level of their understanding or spread beyond the borders of their information; or, on the other hand, to treat such portions as allegories or apologues, and reduce them to

some fanciful and arbitrary interpretation. Others, in the opposite extreme, attach to the received translation of the Bible, and the prevailing notion of its meaning, no small portion of that reverence which is due alone to the true sense of the book. They would debar the ichthyologist from any examination of the narrow esophagus of the whale, and the astronomer from questioning the revolution of the sun around the earth, lest the sacred narrative should be proved untrue. Both extremes are wrong. It is fair to apply to the Bible the same hermeneutical rules that are applied to the writings of Homer, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Virgil, Tacitus or Tully. Coming to the common reader, through the medium of translations, made by men of fallible judgment and limited information, errors are to be expected; and when the light of any science reveals the true meaning of the word of God, all previous errors of translation ought to be removed. If science should reveal truths which contradict the true sense of the Bible, then the Bible must be rejected as untrue, because "no lie is of the truth."* They who tremble for the Bible when a truth is discovered which contradicts our received translation, or our fallible interpretation of it, seem to betray a secret doubt of its authenticity. If it be indeed the word of God, time and learned research will vindicate its truth, and remove every appearance of contradiction. But if truth will subvert the Christian religion, let it go, and the sooner it is driven from the earth the better; for truth is ever to be preferred to error. It is only as "the truth" that Christianity claims or deserves our acceptance. If, then, it proves to be but "a cunningly devised fable," why should it be longer received as truth?

9. The opinion of Vater, quoted by Mr. George R. Gliddon,† that "faith in Christ can set no limits to critical inquiries; otherwise He would hinder the knowledge of Truth," is worthy of all acceptance. Such inquiries, directed toward the Scriptures, with the honest desire either to decide whether they are indeed a revelation from God, or to ascertain what truths they reveal, and what duties they enjoin, so far from being censurable, are highly to be commended. But, as the Scriptures purport, and, by many of the strongest, brightest and most cultivated intellects, are believed to be the word of God, even the sceptic should approach such a task with profound respect. With what

* 1 John ii, 21.

† Types of Mankind, p. 575.

reverence, then, should it be approached by him who is already convinced that the volume is, indeed, the word of God. He should not dare to open it merely to seek for a plausible support of some favorite theory; nor even as an armory from which he may borrow weapons to defend his rights, however dear those rights may be; but simply to learn what is the truth, and humbly to receive it, though it should be bitter to his palate. When, with any other feeling or desire, he is disposed to apply the tests of philosophy to the word of God, subordinate it to the presumised teachings of any science, give fanciful interpretations to its words, broach new and startling theories, and tamper with those genealogical tables which are designed as indices to point the way from the first Adam, in whom all died, to the second Adam, in whom shall all be made alive, he should bethink him of the solemn and oft-repeated warnings against a vain and deceitful philosophy, after the traditions of men, and the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ; profane, vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so-called, which some professing have erred concerning the faith; divers and strange doctrines; foolish and unlearned questions; genealogies, and contentions, and strifes about words, to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, intruding into things which they have not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind.* Giving due heed to these earnest warnings of the Apostle Paul, let the question be now considered whether, in the Holy Scriptures, the word "man" is applied exclusively to the white race.

ART. III.—EQUAL RIGHTS AND EXCLUSIVE PROPERTY.

No proposition is plainer than that if all men have equal rights to the objects of the human desires—the objects of property—that no one man can have a right, to the *exclusion* of others.

Take, for example, any object of desire, let it be either land or personal property, and if men have equal rights to their possession and enjoyment, then it follows, conclusively, that no one man can have a right to exclude another—to

* Col., ii, 8, 18; I Tim., i, 4; vi, 4, 5, 20; II Tim., ii, 14, 23; Tit., iii, 9; Heb., xiii, 9, &c., &c.

deprive him of his right to the possession and enjoyment of them, without his consent and agreement. Were he to do so, his conduct would be violative of the principle of equality of right. Community of goods is the logical result of equality of right.

Equal rights and exclusive property are opposing terms, and are wholly irreconcilable.

Whoever, therefore, advocates the principle of equal right to enjoy and to hold the possessions of life—the objects of property—thereby denies that men have equal rights.

Whoever favors the doctrine of exclusive property, unequivocally, by such an advocacy, denies that men in social life have equal rights.

What we mean by inequality of right is, that one man has either an inferior or a better right to hold and to enjoy any object of property than another man.

What we mean by equality of right is, that one man cannot possibly have either a better or less right than another to enjoy the things that tend to please and to gratify the heart of man.

The question on hand is this—Is the present social state of man philosophically regulated, on the principle of equal or unequal rights, touching the objects of the human affections?

There are two parties on this question in opposition. The principle that all men are equal in their rights to enjoy these objects, logically, runs into community of goods, and this is the position of one of the parties. A can have no right to exclude B, to deprive him of the use and enjoyment of any object of property which they both desire at the same time, if the right of B be the equal of that of A. If B insist on his right to its use and enjoyment, A will have to submit to any common use, if he submit to the right on the suppositi principles given.

If I have a horse in my use and possession, I can only so retain him rightly, to the exclusion of other men desiring to have and to use him, if I have *better* right than they; and I have a *better* right, then our rights are *unequal*.

The point that we shall seek to maintain in what is to follow, is, that the social state of man is under the government of *unequal laws*, and that the welfare of society is due and attributable to the existence and prevalence of these unequal rights.

For example, we insist that the marriage state in social

life is under the government of unequal rights, and that these unequal rights tend to the welfare and peace of that state. What is true of the marriage state is true of all the other relations of social life. The husband has, in respect to the objects that attract the human affections, some rights that the wife has not. The wife, on the other hand, has rights in respect to other matters, the superior of those of the husband. We insist that the true secret of domestic felicity is due and attributable to the existence and the observance of these unequal rights. Where the right of the wife is the superior of that of the husband, the path of duty for him, as well as the path of happiness in that relation, is in the submission to, and observance of this social inequality. He must defer to her superior right, if he desire the welfare of this social state. If he does not defer to it, he violates the regulations that govern the marriage state. And in doing so he acts wrong, or is in the wrong. This could not be so were their rights equal. A slave in the relation of slavery, has rights in certain cases, and in respect to certain objects of desire, that are superior to those of the master. He has rights as a husband and as a father which the master does not have. Hence, their rights are unequal.

In respect to labor, the right of the master is to manage and control the will of the slave. In this regard their rights are unequal, and yet the safety and happiness of this social relation in life is alone attributable to the existence and to the observance of these inequalities of rights.

In the slavery relation, the slave has the right of life. He has also certain marital rights as a slave. These rights tend to the welfare and security of the state of slavery, and hence every master is in duty bound—is bound in moral obligation to govern his conduct on the basis of the existence of these superior rights.

No pnce, if the master takes the life of his slave, he violates the right, disregards the regulations that govern this state, and hence does wrong, or is in the wrong, and is deaf to the right of his slave.

The slave, also, as a husband, has the right to hold and possess his wife and children while in this state. This right, of course, must harmonize with the right of the master to control and direct the will of the slave, his wife and children, in respect to labor and the fruits of it.

If a master debauches the integrity of his slave's wife or daughter, he violates the right of the slave—violates the

moral regulations that govern the state of slavery—which he can only do on the ground that the right of the slave in these regards are the superior of those held by him. He holds no right to violate the marital relation existing between his slave and his slave's wife—does not hold it, for the reason, that his slave does hold it, and that his slave's right in this regard is the better right. Hence, their rights in respect to the slave's wife are unequal; and hence, as we insist, the welfare of the slavery relation depends on the observance of the unequal rights that prevail in that social state.

Am I under any obligations as a master to study the welfare and comfort of my slaves? To see that while they labor for me—labor under my authority and subject to my will—that their substantial happiness, pending the relation, is secured? How is this question to be answered? Are we to say that such a duty does devolve on me? Very well.

What is it that makes any line of conduct a duty? Some principle of moral propriety—some right in the social state—some right of man.

Right and duty are reciprocal. If I am under the obligation to provide for the substantial happiness of my slaves, pending the relation of slavery between me and them, then, if right and duty be reciprocal terms, my slave has the *right* to have his substantial happiness looked after and maintained, and if I neglect it, I do wrong, or am in the wrong—in the wrong, because I violated the superior right, in this regard, of my slave. I could not be in the wrong on any other supposition.

If we suppose that the slave has no right to have his substantial happiness regarded by the master, pending the existence of this relation, then, of course, the master is under no obligation to that effect. Obligations of duty always and invariably grow out of principles of moral propriety, regulating the social relations of life—principles that constitute the rights of man—the rights of the social state. What are the rights of man? They are principles of social government.

It is a principle of social government—a rule of conduct prescribed for society that A shall not steal the property of B. Hence we say that A has a right to his property. Hence, there can be no right in the absence of a rule of conduct regulating the social state—a rule of conduct or principle of moral propriety, whose observance is right. I act right when, and only when, I obey some rule of social

conduct. I act wrong when I violate a rule or some principle of moral propriety. The moral propriety of the marriage relation—the moral propriety of the slavery relation—the moral propriety of every other relation in social life, consists in the rights of man in those relations, and those rights are the rules of moral government to which the relations of social life are subjected.

God, the Creator, has subjected all the relations of social life to principles of moral propriety. Is it proper for me, as a master, to see to and to study the welfare and happiness of my slaves pending the relation of slavery between us? If it is, it is because God has so regulated this social state. He regulates it to the effect that the slave shall honestly and faithfully labor according to my will, and for my benefit, and also regulates it still farther, to the effect, that while my slave is thus engaged, I shall seek his welfare and happiness. Hence, in virtue of this latter moral regulation of this state, my slave has the right to demand the observance of this by me, and if I refuse I do wrong, or am in the wrong. This shows that our rights are unequal, and also shows that slaves have rights and are persons.

If a man has a horse in his use and possession, and another man takes him away from him without his knowledge and consent, he is said to *steal* him—is said to violate the right of the man.

Why is stealing wrong? Why is it improper for A, for example, if he has use for any object of desire, and sees it not immediately in use, to take it and use it to his satisfaction?

This question brings up the whole subject of property. How did the objects that men use and desire in this life come to belong to man? They were created by God for the use of man—created that they might be used by him in harmony and peace. He did not bestow them on particular men or particular families of men.

In the beginning there were but one man and one woman, and God created the earth and all things thereon, for their use and benefit. Hence, if this be true, their children came in by inheritance. They inherited the right of their father and mother. Is it not obvious that they came in in common and equal right? The *children* of the original donees—the *issue* of the first man and woman, to whom God gave the objects that attract the desires—the objects of property—necessarily came to own the earth and the things

thereon, in strict community of rights, and so in community of goods. Hence, while this state lasted, one child of the original donees could not steal property from another, because their rights were equal. In order to steal anything, there must be unequal rights—the right of the man robbed must be *better* than the claim of the man who takes the thing in dispute. No man can be said to steal a thing which he has the right to take and to use.

Hence, the very idea of stealing includes the idea of inequality of right. The man from whom a thing is taken must have a *better* right than he who takes and uses it for his individual purposes, in order to lay the groundwork for the charge of roguery.

If A and B have an equal right to take and use any object of desire, the charge of stealing cannot be substantiated against either of them if they take it and use it whenever they choose and wherever it may be. The children of a common father have common or equal rights.

From this it follows that community of goods was the *original* design of the Creator—a design plainly deducible from the fact of a gift to the common progenitors of the race of man.

Paley, than whom there is no more accurate moral theorist, speaks of exclusive property as “paradoxical and unnatural.” And so it is. It is a departure from the original purpose of God, since God originally purposed that the earth should spontaneously supply all things needed for human comfort and enjoyment. Were the earth now spontaneously to supply every needed bodily or physical object of enjoyment, every requisition demanded for temporal comfort and pleasure, there would be no place or occasion for exclusive ownership; especially if all men were harmoniously disposed. The idea of the writer is that exclusive ownership did not come to have the Divine sanction until after the earth was cursed with sterility, until after thorns and thistles came to impede spontaneous fertility.

When did the law that man should labor—should earn physical enjoyments by the sweat of his brow, have the Divine sanction? Certainly not in the *beginning*—certainly not in the *first* social state of man—his *created* state. It was, if the Scripture is to guide our judgments, in the second social state—the state *consequent* on the fall of man.

The fall of man means that men are disposed to quarrel and to fight over the object of the human desires. It was not so originally, or in the first social state of man. A dispute or a quarrel was then an impossibility.

If, now, community of goods was the law of the first state of man, does it therefore follow that it is the law of our present state? Certainly not. Laws of social bearing—rules of social conduct for a state of primeval innocence and purity, are not necessarily the wisest and the best for a social state wholly different—a state where evil predominates in the natural disposition of man.

We say now, with Paley, that though exclusive ownership is both unnatural and paradoxical, when contrasted with a state of perfect concord and perfect harmony of disposition among men, yet that it now is both wise and just—both safe and proper. Every argument brought by Paley in favor of individual ownership is grounded, not on right but on expediency. It is wise and expedient now, but why?

There is but one reason why. And that is, because men are not disposed properly. They are disposed to be selfish. They are disposed to undue personal advantages. They are disposed to fight and quarrel touching the objects of property. *In order to meet this social condition, individual ownership was instituted.* The social state came to be regulated by the Creator according to the law of *exclusive* ownership, and not by *community* of goods.

Hence, now, we do not hold our claim to the objects of property by common or equal right, but by exclusive property—a system that means inequality of right. Hence, now, a man may have a *better right* to the use and possession of any object of desire than another, and hence this other may be guilty of stealing—a crime he could not commit if they had equal right in the social state.

No man can defend exclusive ownership on the ground of abstract right; and we defy the world of letters to the achievement. It is in plain logical opposition to principles of abstract right, justice or equality—supposing God to be the common Creator. There is but one ground on which it can be defended, and on that did the great and good Paley exclusively rely: and that way is, by showing it to be expedient. “There is a difficulty,” says Paley, “in explaining the origin of property in land consistently with the law of nature; for the land was once, no doubt, common; and the question is, how any particular part of it could justly be taken out of the common and so appropriated to the first owner as to give him a better right to it than others; and, what is more, a right to exclude all others from it. Moralists have given many different accounts of this matter; which diversity alone is proof that none of

them are satisfactory." Common brotherhood just as plainly results from unity of origin as it is possible to conceive. And yet this conclusion is not plainer or more undeniable than that exclusive ownership is in opposition to community of right or common brotherhood among men.

How are we to get rid of the doctrine of common brotherhood or equality of ownership? In reply, we maintain by the doctrine that the theoretical or abstract right *yields* to the philosophy of necessity, which means the doctrine of expediency. What is expedient, under any set of circumstances, is necessary. In other words, it is necessary to act with the highest wisdom under circumstances that forbid a resort to the abstract right. It is on this ground that we justify killing in circumstances of danger, threatening the loss of our lives, and not that killing is right in the abstract. It is merely proper, or expedient, under the circumstances. Remove the circumstances, and it ceases to be proper or justifiable.

The death penalty reposes on the same ground. The resort to taking life is opposed to principles of fraternity—is opposed to common brotherhood. The welfare of society—the good of the whole, demands individual sacrifices. In other words, the peace of society, the welfare of the public, would be sacrificed were there no resort made to penalties. This places society in circumstances that require a resort to principles suited to the circumstances—principles in opposition to common fraternity. Remove the necessity for penalties, and you at once remove the ground on which a resort to them can be defended.

Rules of action change with circumstances, while the general rule of right never varies.

Had man never fallen, there would never have occurred in the history of our race any necessity for a departure from the original or abstract right. Evil has its peculiar remedy.

A is called on to kill B. States are called on to engage in bloody contests. Governments are called on to inflict penalties on their citizens. The call does not come from the theoretical or abstract right. It comes from the prevalence of evil in the natural dispositions of men, evil not prevailing originally, or when the abstract right was instituted. It comes from circumstances that force us to abandon the principles of universal fraternity. And hence we must return to the true social state in proportion as men return from their long wanderings to virtue and to religion. This should be the ruling principle of civil government.

ART. IV.—THE FALSE AND THE TRUE POLITICAL ECONOMY.

INTENDED AS AN INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER TO A NEW WORK ON MORAL PATHOLOGY, BUT EMBRACED IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

WE hold that all moral philosophies, when proposed as universal truths, are false; but they are always so proposed by their authors, and so held and understood by those who adopt them. Take a familiar instance, and one of great present practical importance. Political Economy (as now understood) teaches that *laissez faire*, or "let alone," with the free competition resulting from it, is a full and adequate remedy for all moral and social evils. The doctrine is inculcated without any definite scientific restrictions. It leads, nay it has already led, to the doctrine and practice of Free Love and no government. The philosophy is not only "imperfect," but false. Yet the *laissez faire*, in the moral world, like the "*vis medicatrix nature*" in the physical world, is a useful force or *principle*, which the moral pathologist, aided by tact, instinct, experience and common sense, finds frequent occasion to apply in practice. The mother is an expert and adept in this practice, whilst educating her child. She practices on the protective principle, most sedulously and carefully, whilst the boy is an infant: exposes him gradually to rough it with other boys as he grows older; sends him out to ride, swim, skate and shoot at fifteen; and at twenty-one, ushers him forth in the world to conquer in the war of the wits, and to practise political economy and free trade, and to compete with and get the better of (not cheat) "all the world and the rest of mankind."

The mother is no philosopher, knows nothing of the free trade principle or the protective principle, but with intuitive sagacity, practices the one or the other as occasion may require.

A system of philosophy should embrace both principles, and lay down ascertained rules for the practice, use and application of the one or the other. But philosophy in vain attempts to teach the mother how and when to apply either of these principles, or opposite, yet concurrent moral forces, in the education of her child, much less is it able to teach the statesman how to apply them in the government of a nation. In either case, I propose to watch the symptoms or prevalent phenomena, and to practice tentatively and pathologically.

I would not dignify the thousand minute, subtle, and but

partly-detected principles or forces which, conjointly, control, move and govern the moral, animal, vegetable and inanimate world with the term philosophy. Each force or principle is true, useful and healthful, when applied in proper quantities and at proper times—noxious when used to excess or used on improper occasions. This is, I presume, exactly what you mean in your letter, when you say: "What I hold is, that 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy.' That our philosophy is always imperfect, but not, therefore, useless."

Not useless, but very useful (I agree with you), if no one system is pushed to extremes, and adopted as the sole guide of conduct. The common maxims or sayings which all the world quote, are all and each systems of philosophy, which discriminating common sense alone knows when and how to apply. These maxims, like the professed systems of philosophy, are contradictory the one of the other. All sometimes true and useful, at others, false and noxious. Horace, among profane writers, I deem the greatest philosopher, because he proposed the partial and occasional adoption of different systems. Hence his famous "*Est modus in rebus*," &c., and equally famous "*Nullius addictus in verba magistri jurare*." Proudhon, in his "*Contradictiones Economiques*," has ably analyzed and exposed the opposing principles, forces, or antinomins, that are to be found in political economy. He discovers much, but makes no use of his discoveries. In moral analysis, dissection and exposition, he far excels all other writers. But he never attempts synthesis, never attempts to put together and rebuild what he has so cunningly taken to pieces and pulled down. His is the philosophy of scepticism, destructiveness and utter hopelessness. Despite of the multitudinous monstrosities, the crime and misery which his moral microscope detects and exposes, this is, on the whole, quite a good and happy world, else mankind would not continue to increase and multiply. At all events, it is our only world at present, and we should try to be contented and make the best of it.

The antinomins or conflicting yet concurrent forces, which Proudhon exposes in the social world, are still more obvious in the animal, vegetable and inanimate world. Centrifugal and centripetal forces, by their opposing and concurrent power, keep the heavenly bodies in motion. The doctors seeing that, in the human body, the vital forces were too numerous, minute, delicate and subtle for enumeration,

definition and exposition, have almost discarded nosology, which proposed to treat diseases according to their nomenclature and classification, and adopted, in its stead, pathology, which looks to and studies existing symptoms, and applies remedies rather suited to those symptoms than to the name of the disease.

Plants are not so "wonderfully and fearfully formed" as men or societies of men, yet their nature is too complex now, or ever hereafter, to admit of successful scientific farming. Still, science, experimentally and cautiously employed, is a great aid to agriculture; and "peas and philosophy" may be successfully cultivated together, provided much time, attention and industry are given to the peas, and but little to the philosophy.

Dryness and moisture, heat and cold, light and darkness, ammonia, lime, salt, phosphates and many other chemical substances and agencies combine to generate the forces which sustain and promote vegetable life and growth. But besides these detected forces, there are others too minute and subtle to be discerned by analysis; for no one can detect the element in the soil which gives flavor to wine or tobacco, nor the causes of the frequent blights and diseases which cut short the farmer's crops. An Agricultural Pathology is as much needed as a Medical Pathology. A Moral Pathology is more needed than either, because man's moral nature is more complex and inscrutable than his physical being; and societies, composed of many men, present still more difficulties and complexities to be analyzed and expounded. Successful and complete analysis is hopeless, nay, impossible; we must, therefore, view society synthetically, and treat its diseases experimentally, pathologically, and tentatively. Our proposed system may constitute a philosophy, but it is at war with all other systems, yet includes and comprehends them all as partially and occasionally true, and to be resorted to in practice, as moral symptoms and exigencies may suggest or require. In our published writings we have frequently suggested the thought which we now attempt to define with more fulness and precision. In the chapter on "False Philosophies," in "Cannibals All," we probably so expressed ourselves, as to aid you, by reading it, in understanding us now. Solomon, the wisest of men, was a pathologist, hence he exclaims: "There is a time for all things."

Sir James Macintosh would have anticipated our theory, had he possessed an analytical mind and been able to dis-

cover that his objections to the stoics and epicureans applied with equal force and truth to all other philosophers. Of them he thus writes:

"As the astronomer who left either the centripetal or centrifugal force of the planets out of his view would err as completely as he who excluded both, so the epicureans and stoics, who each confined themselves to real but not exclusive principles in morals, departed as widely from the truth as if they had adopted no part of it. Every partial theory is, indeed, directly false, inasmuch as it ascribes to one or a few causes what is produced by more."

Sir James was a great scholar and rhetorician, but a dull philosopher, or he would have discovered in all systems, ancient and modern, the same defects which he attributes to his two condemned sects. Reid did see all that we do, and charged all philosophers with attempts at too great simplification, and attributed it to a love of quackery and charlatanry, inherent in the mind of man, which, in all ages, has given vogue and currency to panaceas, whether in physic or philosophy. (We have not Reid before us and cannot quote his *words*.) There is much truth in the reasons he assigns for the one-sidedness of all systems of philosophy—but we think he has overlooked the chief and controlling causes. Moral and physical diseases are continually changing, new ones arising, and old ones assuming new characters and types. Some lucky experimenter discovers a remedy for the prevalent disease or the prevalent type of disease; and proposes and administers it as a cure for all diseases. It becomes all the rage for a season, for all the diseases of a season partake of the same character, and is administered and taken long after it has ceased to cure and begun to kill.

Between moral and physical forces, principles and diseases, we will not say there are striking similitudes and analogies, for these terms are too weak, since we often see the same forces producing equal effects in the material and moral world. Strong stimulants taken into the stomach equally derange the functions of mind and body when taken in large quantities, and equally strengthen them when used moderately and on proper occasions. Hope, fear, joy and despair, which are moral forces, act directly on the body, and sometimes occasion death. A philosophy that attempts to separate the physical from the metaphysical must be defective, because, in this life, they are virtually connected, dependent and inseparable.

We should not attempt to write the treatise we propose, did we not see and feel that the want of some new theory

of morals was present, urgent and pressing, and most urgent and pressing in our slaveholding society.

It has been often truly said by European authors that the liberation of the serfs and villains of Western Europe gave rise, *ipso facto*, to political economy as a fact and practice; for it placed, in some respects, all mankind on equal, competitive and antagonistic relations. Selfishness became almost the sole virtue and sole incentive to action, because the natural series of social subordination and dependence being broken up, and with it the natural obligation of the strong and wealthy to govern, take care of and provide for the weak and indigent, each man in struggling to preserve his own existence, was compelled to go to war with his neighbor. This intersocial war was mildly termed *free competition*. It begun with acts of robbery, rapine, plunder and murder, as the early history of the liberated serfs informs us; it now exists chiefly as a war of the wits, which, though more silent and stealthy in its operations, is none the less fatal and destructive to the weak, the poor, the generous and the confiding.

A philosophy was needed to explain, to generalize and to justify this new social order, which had attempted to banish slavery and to inaugurate universal liberty. Adam Smith wrote that philosophy. It teaches that liberty (*laissez faire*) is the one only social good, and slavery the one great moral evil.

"Let everybody do pretty much as everybody pleases," is the only distinct principle which we can find in modern political economy, and we find no attempt to draw a definite and scientific line of limitation and restriction to this sweeping doctrine. A more bold and silly piece of humbuggery and charlatantry never was imposed on a credulous world. It beats all the quack pills and panaceas as far in the absurdity of its pretensions as in the greatness of its promises.

This philosophy of universal liberty is, by its professions and on its face, directly at war with our Southern social institutions, and, therefore, we propose to write another. In fact, it is carrying on a disguised war against *all* social, religious, political and governmental institutions, and is begetting, almost daily, famines, panics, riots and bloody revolutions throughout Western Europe. Free society needs a new moral philosophy quite as much as slave society.

We shall teach that slavery and liberty are equally natural

and equally necessary moral principles or forces, and that it is the appropriate business of the pathologist to promote and encourage the growth and increase of the one or the other, as social symptoms and circumstances shall indicate or require.

Political economy has signally failed to explain or reconcile the relations of capital and labor, or define the rights, duties and obligations of capitalists and laborers, farther than to encourage universal social antagonism, competition and internecine war of the wits.

The strongest objection to this philosophy is, however, that it is directly at war with Christianity, which teaches the opposite doctrine to free competition, to wit: that we should "do unto others as we would that they should do unto us." You truly remark that the world needs a more Christian philosophy. Now, we believe that a philosophy may be taught and practiced in slave society based upon this Scripture injunction. Within the family circle, in their conduct toward each other, it is natural, mutually advantageous and usual, for masters, parents, wives, children and slaves, to act upon this Christian principle. Every member of a well-regulated family sees and feels that he best promotes his own individual interest by helping to advance the happiness and prosperity of the rest of the little social circle. Within the family the law of mutual love prevails, and political economy and selfish competition find no place.

One more suggestion and we have done.

We think we have discovered a new moral force or principle, that of "anti-selfishness." Most systems of philosophy, ancient and modern, assume selfishness or self-love to be the sole motive of human conduct. We hold that all moral and physical life is sustained by opposing forces, and that the business of philosophy is to preserve the proper balance of those forces, since the undue preponderance of either occasions death.

The love for our children, our relatives, our neighbors, for mankind, for domestic animals, for our homes, our fields, our country, and for all external nature, is innate, involuntary and natural. Our love for the weak and dependent is the most striking, common and useful form of anti-selfishness. We are ready to risk our lives to rescue a cruelly-treated child, and live a life of continual self-sacrifice to promote the happiness of our families. No selfish calculations induce such conduct, but anti-selfishness im-

pels us to it. The *natural* mother sacrifices her time, her health and reputation, to preserve and cherish her illegitimate offspring. The unnatural mother perpetrates infanticide. It is a gross abuse of terms to attribute the conduct of each to self-love. They are actuated by opposite moral forces or principles, selfishness unduly preponderating with the unnatural mother. But for the principle of anti-selfishness all human governments, from national down to parental, would be impracticable; for selfishness would occasion universal abuse of power.

Self-love preserves the life of the individual, anti-selfishness the life, happiness and well-being of society.

I am sure this is a discovery in moral science. Were the thought not new, there would be some word to express it. We have to coin a new word, because we know of none, in any language, that fully and definitely expresses our idea.

The Scotch philosophers have been looking in this direction, and employ the term "benevolent affections" to express part of what we mean.

In the first letter you ever wrote to us, some six years ago, you suggested that, to justify slavery, we should have to adopt a new philosophy. Prompted and encouraged by you, we begin the work with sad and mournful presaging. If we write on the vast and intricate subject of society what is profound and true, few will be able to understand us; and of those few, how many will take the trouble to read and reflect on what we write? To be popular, an author must be superficial and common-place in thought, gaudy in style, and a servile follower and flatterer of vulgar tastes and opinions!

ART. V.—THE RIGHT TO ENSLAVE.

LIBERTY, it was once said, was the inalienable right of all; but men having observed certain stubborn facts, they are now little pleased to see how they were led to believe in a falsehood so manifest. All who are free can do as they like; none can do as they like, therefore none are free. All are conscious of being in many ways restrained from some things and compelled to do other things. No one is free who, on account of expediency, acts contrary to his inclinations. It is but seldom that any man can do as he likes best to do. No one has the right to do wrong. No

one has the right to do as he likes, unless he likes to do right; and where is the man who likes to do right in all cases? Hence, we hold it as a self-evident truth, that liberty is what no man has, or can have, or can have a right to have.

Take an eagle, clip his wings, pare his claws, grind his beak, put him in a cage, feed him on things unfit, and set on boys to pelt him with mud. Then, if you want his vote, say he is free, because he can do precisely as he, in existing circumstances, chooses to do. His answer is, that being in circumstances not suited to his nature, crippled and confined, he could neither feel nor act like a wild eagle in the air. So man resembles the caged eagle. In the garden of Eden, where every tree was good for food, and nothing to hurt or offend, man being clear of bodily and mental disease—if not exactly free, might be as free as he need desire. Expelled thence, he lives not in an Eden-like world fitted up for freedom, but in one so made as to render hard labor necessary. The soil is generally unproductive for the whole or part of the year on account of cold or drought, or because composed of unfit materials. Where verdure is constant, the land is burdened with destructive insects and plants that are useless, while those more useful can seldom be brought to perfection. The products of labor are often destroyed by the elements, or quickly become worthless, because badly planned and executed. A bad climate everywhere brings diseases on man, which he can by no prudence avoid, and which, by his ignorance and perverseness, are made more hurtful, so that all his faculties, bodily and mental, are always imperfectly developed and, in many ways, disordered. He is not built like the Apollo Belvidere, full of fire, and sound in body and mind; but all are in a damaged condition, many pusillanimous, and many with strong passions and a weak intellect, possessing neither ability nor wisdom to make the best of their condition. None fully, full strength for labor, but in their toil all are oppressed; weariness, and often by pain and indolence. The strong are prostrated by a breath of bad air, and often lose their power before the term of life is half spent. The sovereign people may well feel most superbly flattered when told they are free.

Orators, in the midst of a rant about liberty, often say that after all it is not really liberty which they mean, and that they mean merely a liberty restricted by good laws, customs, and so forth; that is, their image of liberty wears

an iron collar. From the stern necessity of the case, this must be the idea, unless they would agree with thieves, the persons strenuous for the true meaning of the word. But they glide from the professed meaning to the true, frequently without being aware of it; and whenever it is the object to carry some favorite measure by exciting enthusiasm or fanaticism, the true meaning is used. It is by this constant use of the true meaning, when another meaning is pretended, that the Ship of State is at length stranded. "Give me liberty or give me death," is one of the phrases lacquered over with this fantastic glitter; but the brass is instantly tarnished, when common sense substitutes *good government* for *liberty*.

And what is a good government? Is it a free government? The first object of any possible government is to interfere with the freedom of men; it is to compel them to do some things and refrain from other things. A government may derive just powers from the consent of the governed, but as they are often led to consent to what is unjust, a better warrant exists in the fact that just powers ought to receive the consent of the governed. A government, good and suitable for some, is unfit for others; and, for many, slavery is the best form of government when rightly administered.

Suppose two boys, armed with penknives, begin a fight in the presence of a man who, without interfering, looks on with indifference or pleasure for an hour till both are exhausted. Is that man blameless or guilty of murder? When two nations are at war, it is deemed right for a third to interfere, that is, technically, to mediate, not only with words, but with force sufficient to make a just peace instantly, and that without the request of either of the hostile powers; and if a nation, able to mediate, neglects it, it partakes of the guilt of the other two. When a whole tribe continually does wrong, being worse than any two civilized nations engaged in war, "filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity;" when they have continued thus several thousand years, indolently neglecting to provide for their wants, and every one hurting himself and his neighbor, it is manifestly not right for them to live so, and they have no right to live so a single day. Is not interference as necessary as when two nations or two men are hostile? Proper mediation would make a murderous, barbarian tribe a large civilized nation.

Good advice, the cheapest kind of mediation, is not the most effectual. They need a man to mediate who would mildly use the proper means to bring them to subjection, superintend all their affairs minutely, persuade and compel them to labor as they ought, defend them from enemies, prevent crimes hurtful to themselves, and so, from the first, confer benefits before unknown. What can be more just than for them to pay the expense of the very great benefit received when enslaved to those who govern them rightly? Men are neither willing nor able to bear the great expense of such mediation, especially when they consider the risk and the opposition from the worshippers of liberty. So without the profits of their labor the benefit cannot be given.

Who have the right thus to interfere? Any who are able. Those able and willing to exercise such power rightly should not hesitate to confer the benefit. If they neglect it, they partake of their iniquity. It is not the design here to contend that every half civilized man has the right to enslave any other man, who is not above one-half a savage, and treat him with undue severity; but rather to illustrate the principle that men should do to others as they might wisely wish others to do to them. Suppose all the earth highly civilized, except a single isolated tribe, as indolent and vicious as the blacks in Africa. Would it be right for the rest to leave them for ages to themselves? Or should they, viewing them as incompetent persons, immediately give them the best government they were capable of receiving? Ought not the tribe to consent? and would they not consent if wise? Would the best be a republic which would do little else than lay taxes, punish part of the crimes, and let them be as idle as they chose for generations to come? Should they not rather have guardians to do as well as possible for them, hour by hour, as on the best of the Southern plantations? According to the higher law, every offence and failure in duty, idleness especially, is ground for punishment, when justice is strictly executed; and those who will not perform the labor necessary for their own best interests, should be compelled to perform it, and be punished for previous neglect, and they can have no claim to any kind of government which would fail to compel them; that is, the millions of savages in Africa and other places have no right to any other form of government than slavery. Slavery is a government which, when rightly administered, does nothing wrong, but executes justice more strictly than any other.

Where civilization exists, much labor must be done. For the great bulk of the products of labor men cannot pay extravagant prices. Hence, to bring those products within the reach of buyers, labor must generally be done for low wages; and a great majority feel constrained to work for low wages, and are as incapable of raising themselves or their families above that condition as if restrained by law. While the slaves are for the most part engaged in the most safe and healthful work which the country affords, it is not so with the workmen of the North. The business of many exposes them to various dangers, and many trades are injurious to the health, always causing more or less weakness and paleness, and impairing the ability to endure the labor that produces such effects. The labor of manufacturing cotton is more depressing than that of raising it; and the shop of the shoemaker is more destructive than the rice plantation. In such unhealthful employments many thousands at the North are forced to bury themselves, and to these employments they are tied down, and are unable to exchange them for others more suitable, except at wages so inferior as to make the prospect less tolerable. Still, while competing for the privilege of toiling in the most sickening drudgery, they boast of liberty, and dream of making others as free as themselves. Families are continually separated in order to obtain less painful situations, in which, by labor, to weary themselves; and multitudes are unable to support and have a wife, and so have reason to complain that their wages are less than the wages of slaves, while their work is harder.

Emancipation can never give liberty. It is but the substitution of one government for another; whether more just, more agreeable, and attended with fewer abuses, would depend less on the formalities of that government than on the character of those concerned—people, chiefs and neighbors. Emancipation is a sin in many cases; it is so in most cases where those emancipated would make progress back toward barbarism. If they were as fond of labor as the Chinese, and as fond of hoarding money as they, it might be done with more propriety than at present.

The history of the world gives abundant information concerning the working of the various kinds of government, republics and empires—some tyrannical, and others the best that have existed; and it gives one well-marked example of the results of liberty. The experiment was continued not a few years only, but for a very long

time, so that a thorough trial was made. The people had a wide extent of rich country entirely for their own use, The most perfect liberty possible for men they had; and they must have had that liberty for many centuries, with gold beneath their feet—none to interrupt. The natives of Australia were strongly fixed in the opinion that they all were equal. They would acknowledge no one as a chief, and would do nothing that could imply that any one was superior to another. They had no kind of established government whatever; and if they cannot lay claim to the fruits of liberty then none can.

Boston, Mass., April, 1861.

V. V.

ART. VI.—TAXATION AND TARIFFS.

THE permanent establishment of a Southern Government within the limits of the former Government of the United States, which is based almost entirely upon agricultural and commercial interests, has given rise, as might have been expected, to speculations relating to the policy to be pursued in the collection of revenues adequate for present and future exigencies.

Whilst the opinions of almost all parties concur in the policy of establishing a simple, conservative and economical Government, which shall—in its revenue system, entirely ignore the principle of discriminating in favor of certain branches of industry with the view to their protection, as evinced by a clause inserted in the Constitution—differences have arisen as to whether the revenues should be levied upon the imports or the exports of the country, or whether, liberating them entirely from restrictions, a resort should be had exclusively to other sources of revenue.

Whilst there can be no doubt that free trade and direct taxation would be the wisest system to be adopted in a Confederation like ours, if not the wisest system absolutely in any Government, yet it involves so great an innovation upon established usage, education and prejudices, and is in such direct opposition to the course pursued by all other nations, that we might well hesitate in their adoption. Time, and a better understanding of the rules of political economy, will, in the event, determine such a policy, whatever difficulties (and these seem to be insuperable) are in the way of it at present.

The question of direct taxation, to supply the wants of

the old Government, was mooted in 1841, by Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, in a very able speech made by him on the floor of Congress, in which he said that he hoped to see the time when the people would rise up to the majesty and magnitude of the question, and carry out a system which would go farther to reform the Government and establish free institutions than any other in the wit of man.

In 1857, Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, called up the question again in Congress, and, as chairman of the Select Committee, made a profound and able report, which was published at large in this Review.

Since that time the question has been at rest, except in so far as it may have been mooted in the recent Congress at Montgomery, whose debates have not yet been made public.

The early experience of the Government was not favorable to this mode of taxation, as witness the whiskey tax under Washington's administration, finally repealed in 1802, and the war taxes of 1812-'15, extending to furniture, jewelry, plate, auction sales, instruments of writing, etc.

The first act levying *direct taxes* was passed in 1798. It provided for the valuation of lands, dwelling houses and slaves, throughout the Union, and provided for commissioners in each division to assess the said values. The tax on dwellings ranged from 3-10 to 1 per cent., according to their quality, and upon slaves was fifty cents per head. A tax of \$2,000,000 was laid upon the United States, apportioned among them. Where the tax upon dwellings and slaves was insufficient to make up the quota of a State, the balance was assessed upon lands. In 1813, collection districts were established in each State for assessing and collecting taxes. A direct tax of \$3,000,000 was also imposed, and the quotas were levied upon the several counties and State districts, though the State legislatures might vary the quotas, or elect to pay the money direct to the Treasury, with a deduction varying from 10 to 15 per cent. The same was provided in regard to the act of 1815, which assessed an annual tax upon the States of \$6,000,000, but which was repealed the following year.

The following table will show the amount derived from the internal duties prior to 1800—seven years:

New Hampshire.....	\$34,453	Maryland.....	\$363,772
Massachusetts.....	1,222,937	Virginia.....	671,435
Rhode Island.....	299,815	North Carolina.....	143,727
Connecticut.....	129,862	South Carolina.....	142,506
Vermont.....	11,170	Georgia.....	25,929
New York.....	348,279	Ohio.....	38,732
New Jersey.....	102,146	Tennessee.....	25,916
Pennsylvania.....	717,383		
Delaware.....	30,315	Total.....	*\$4,308,380

*The total includes fractions of the dollar in the several items.

TAXATION AND TARIFFS.

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For the year 1816 the following table has been made up:
A Statement exhibiting the amounts which accrued, during the year 1816, from several of the Internal Duties, in each of the States and Territories respectively; together with the sums received, and the amount paid for the collection thereof.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Duties for Domestic Manufactures.	Duty on Carriages.	Licenses to Retailers.	Sales at Auction.	Household furniture and gold and silver watches.	Total duties received by the collectors, including all other items.	Expenses of collection.
N. Hamp're.	148 82	2,610 03	20,516 53	1,283 93	743 50	39,495 87	2,976 67
Mass.....	7,801 92	15,850 39	107,507 92	95,708 94	15,549 50	467,043 29	21,422 85
Vermont....	4,934 68	1,458 60	16,519 27	106 42	145 00	45,470 31	3,598 69
R. Island....	1,762 02	938 27	11,408 78	2,640 44	.....	63,059 17	4,045 29
Connecticut	25,079 72	8,178 21	36,104 29	322 67	1,318 00	158,589 05	8,795 11
New York....	77,313 22	11,034 37	173,192 37	300,510 90	2,073 50	949,683 08	39,845 33
New Jersey..	39,462 12	11,325 88	32,611 75	448 58	1,347 50	179,239 81	11,002 41
Penn.....	256,409 17	17,122 42	139,035 73	160,493 43	49,808 50	1,188,667 42	42,195 49
Delaware....	3,397 35	3,666 90	10,863 56	61 73	76 06	45,391 91	3,650 53
Maryland....	35,214 29	13,072 07	50,348 09	69,407 84	16,298 00	379,749 49	13,762 00
Virginia....	111,137 31	18,348 01	58,603 16	20,996 12	20,218 51	568,721 08	33,737 01
N. Carolina..	21,256 28	7,382 18	28,221 83	4,844 26	5,404 74	219,903 42	13,567 94
Ohio.....	63,588 41	480 52	23,394 59	1,014 90	2,186 00	145,435 52	11,717 43
Kentucky....	84,175 84	2,459 19	20,141 62	813 53	7,224 00	239,776 98	14,333 47
S. Carolina..	12,908 40	7,936 57	25,316 11	30,203 26	1,390 00	172,600 71	12,353 79
Tennessee...	49,657 02	680 65	9,499 92	287 77	1,717 00	137,608 34	6,529 45
Georgia.....	16,717 85	4,486 71	14,039 49	7,652 03	611 00	111,515 55	7,973 70
Louisiana...	10,138 62	1,443 68	11,821 27	23,217 92	1,620 00	68,690 80	5,787 88
Illinois Ter.	367 43	21 74	776 95	.....	126 00	1,536 34	739 56
Michigan....	.....	42 00	1,694 13	39 58	72 00	1,888 45	546 03
Indiana "...	764 00	8 25	1,860 00	.....	.....	3,053 74	.....
Missouri "...	1,125 17	31 00	1,981 75	.....	.....	7,745 18	875 15
Missis'pi "...	1,083 73	385 40	5,499 42	1,053 58	667 00	14,012 61	2,455 35
D. Columbia	.....	1,513 68	11,888 64	8,607 07	.....	105,683 26	4,276 85
Total.....	824,443 77	130,476 62	812,647 17	729,109 00	128,655 75	5,314,561 38	266,181 98

From the work of Adam Seybert we compile a table of much interest, showing the apportionment of direct taxes, the valuations made for purposes of taxation of lands, lots, dwelling houses and slaves, and the actual amount assessed and paid upon them in the several States in 1798, 1813 and 1815:

STATES.	Quota, 1798.	Quota, 1815.	Valuation Lands, Houses, and Slaves.			Ass'd and paid on each \$100		
			1798* 1813. 1815.	1813. 1815.	1815.	1798|1813|1815		
New Hampshire....	77,705	193,586	23,175,046	36,957,825	38,745,974	34	26	49
Massachusetts.....	260,435	632,541	83,992,469	149,253,514	143,765,500	31	21	44
Rhode Island.....	37,502	69,404	11,066,358	24,567,020	20,907,766	33	14	33
Connecticut.....	129,767	226,335	48,313,434	86,550,033	88,534,971	26	13	26
Vermont.....	46,864	106,687	16,723,873	32,747,290	32,461,120	28	30	30
New York.....	181,680	860,283	100,380,707	266,067,145	273,120,900	18	16	32
New Jersey.....	98,387	217,743	36,437,890	↑	98,612,083	27	↑	21
Pennsylvania.....	237,177	730,958	102,145,900	↑	346,633,889	23	↑	21
Delaware.....	30,430	64,092	6,234,414	14,361,469	14,493,620	48	22	44
Maryland.....	152,599	303,247	32,372,291	129,016,483	122,577,572	47	12	24
Virginia.....	345,488	758,036	71,225,127	↑	.....	48	↑	.....
Kentucky.....	37,643	337,857	21,408,090	↑	87,018,837	17	↑	39
North Carolina....	193,697	440,467	30,842,372	92,197,497	93,723,031	62	23	46
Tennessee.....	18,806	220,173	6,134,108	38,411,911	.....	30	28	57
South Carolina....	112,997	303,810	17,465,013	↑	.....	64	↑	.....
Georgia.....	38,814	189,872	12,061,138	↑	57,792,158	32	↑	34
Ohio.....	.....	208,300	.....	↑	61,347,215	.....	↑	33
Louisiana.....	.....	56,590	.....	14,597,550	.....	.....	↑	.....

* The returns for this year do not include the value of Slaves.

† The tax was assumed by the State; no valuation was returned.

‡ This amount was returned for one district only.

§ Returns were deficient.

It will be seen that the majority of the Southern States assumed the tax.

The cost of collecting the direct tax in 1815 was stated by the Treasury to be $6\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.; in 1816 $5\frac{3}{16}$ per cent.

In 1808, 10,495 persons were employed in Great Britain to collect a revenue of £53,916,000; but the customs, which only produces one-sixth of the amount, employed nearly half of the persons. In 1797 the expense of collecting the British revenue was, on the hundred pounds:

	£	s.	d.
Customs.....	6	2	6
Stamps.....	4	17	7
Excise.....	4	12	1
Taxes.....	3	12	5

On the authority of Seybert, we learn that the expenses of collecting the revenue from the customs of the United States on the average of ten years, from 1791 to 1800, amounted to 3.79 per cent. per annum. On the average, from 1801 to 1810, to 4.19 per cent. Between 1790 and 1810, 4.04 per cent.

In 1855-'56 the American revenue from customs was \$64,022,836.

The duty collected upon the eight articles of woollens, cottons, hemp goods, iron and manufactures of, sugar, unmanufactured hemp, salt, and coal, on an import of \$100,745,110, reached \$27,829,952.*

On the following articles the duty was \$47,168,850:

	Value—1856.	Duties—1856.
Iron, manufactures of iron, and iron and steel	\$22,041,939	\$6,587,975 70
Cast, shear, German, and other steel	2,538,323	442,746 85
Manufactures of wool	31,961,793	8,835,366 40
cotton	25,917,999	6,333,740 05
silk	30,226,532	7,604,846 15
flax	11,189,463	2,238,384 70
hemp	253,730	50,746 00
Brandies	2,859,342	2,859,342 00
Wines	6,796,058	2,718,423 20
Sugar	22,538,653	6,761,595 90
Articles of which wool, cotton, silk, flax, or hemp, is a component part, but which cannot properly be classified with either, viz:		
Silk and worsted goods	1,335,247	333,811 75
Embroideries of wool, cotton, silk, and linen	4,664,353	1,399,305 90
Clothing, ready-made, and articles of wear	1,978,344	593,503 20
Laces, thread, and insertings	410,591	82,118 20
Cotton insertings, trimmings, laces, braids, &c.	1,191,019	297,754 75
Cordage, untarred, tarred, and cables	132,172	33,043 00
Twine and pack-thread	53,821	16,146 30
Total	\$166,089,379	\$47,168,850 05

* See De Bow's Review for June, 1857.

There were by the Treasury list one thousand and fifty items of the tariff paying duty at some rate, whilst less than fifty of them pay nine-tenths of the revenue, or fifty-four out of sixty-four millions of dollars. Thus one thousand paid in the aggregate ten millions, and several hundred paid a mere trifle, increasing thereby, without equivalent, the expense of collection, and embarrassing the course of trade. We select a few from the list :

Paying duty.	Amount Imported.	Paying duty.	Amount Imported.
Barley	\$2,054	Lard	\$109
Oats	900	Spermaceti	73
Wheat	2,546	Pewter	135
Coke	2,535	Lead paper	330
Ivory	145	Copper nails	808
Oil of vitriol	1,000	“ wire	130
Wood	682	Whalebone	610

Out of three hundred and eighteen articles returned in the report of commerce as paying duty in dollars in 1856, one hundred and sixty-five articles reached less than \$100,000 each in the total import. The average at \$50,000 would be less than \$10,000,000, leaving the remaining one hundred and fifty-three articles to amount in the aggregate to \$277,000,000 in round numbers.

The number of persons employed in collecting the revenue of the United States, by the cities, towns, counties, States, and Federal Government, may be thus stated :

Employees of the United States Treasury	5,000
Average to each of the 100 largest towns and cities, 10	1,000
Average to each county in the Union, 3	5,400
State Governments	600
	12,000

The following table is made up from the census of 1850, showing the free population, the valuation of real and personal property, etc., in several States, and also the per cent. of State taxes on property, and per capita. It is also shown how a direct tax of \$50,000,000 would be distributed among the States, according to free population, according to federal population, and according to the value of real and personal estate. The calculations are in round numbers, and relate to the leading States :

STATES.	Free Population.	True valuation of Real and Personal property.	Local or State Taxes.	Per cent. local on property on \$100.	Per Capita, local.	Federal Tax to free population.	Federal Tax according to property.	Tax according to Federal population.
				Cts. M.				
Alabama.....	428,779	228,204,332	663,446	2.4	1 55	1,070,000	1,771,000	1,440,000
Connecticut.....	370,792	155,707,980	566,343	3.7	1 53	975,000	1,107,000	840,000
Florida.....	48,135	23,198,734	85,287	3.7	1 76	120,000	164,000	161,000
Georgia.....	524,503	335,425,714	522,482	1.5	0 99	1,310,000	2,392,000	1,665,000
Indiana.....	988,416	202,650,264	1,383,360	6.8	1 40	2,475,000	1,443,000	2,240,000
Maine.....	583,169	122,777,571	1,753,037	14.3	3 00	1,457,000	871,000	1,330,000
Mississippi.....	206,648	228,951,130	1,340,400	5.9	4 52	740,000	1,628,000	1,100,000
New Hampshire.....	317,976	103,652,835	908,996	8.8	2 85	792,000	728,000	721,000
New Jersey.....	489,319	153,151,619	599,404	3.9	1 22	1,222,000	1,092,000	1,111,000
New York.....	3,097,394	1,080,309,216	7,160,255	6.6	2 33	8,000,000	7,300,000	7,000,000
North Carolina.....	580,401	226,800,472	455,343	2.0	0 88	1,450,000	1,614,000	1,778,000
Pennsylvania.....	2,311,786	729,144,998	6,089,455	8.3	2 63	5,800,000	5,207,000	5,502,000
Rhode Island.....	147,545	80,508,994	347,111	4.3	2 35	367,000	571,000	335,000
South Carolina.....	283,523	288,257,694	632,162	2.2	2 22	707,000	2,057,000	1,223,000
Texas.....	154,431	55,362,340	131,313	2.4	8 50	385,000	393,000	350,000
Vermont.....	314,120	92,205,049	719,414	7.8	2 29	785,000	657,000	619,000
Virginia.....	349,133	391,646,438	1,126,852	2.9	1 19	2,372,000	2,793,000	2,933,000
Wisconsin.....	305,391	42,956,595	570,469	13.5	1 76	762,000	300,000	726,000

We have not at present space or time to continue these figures and deductions, but will resume the subject at an early day. Meanwhile we present entire a paper prepared by a gentleman of Charleston, understood to be J. W. Wilkinson, Esq., a copy of which he has been good enough to furnish us, revised and corrected, which opens and discusses the policy of Export Duties with much ability. The accession of the Border States to the Southern Confederacy would somewhat modify the statistical conclusions of the paper without affecting the principle of its reasonings.

AN EXPORT DUTY ON RAW COTTON, AND FREE TRADE IN COTTON FABRICS, THE TRUE POLICY FOR THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

An error, which has been suffered, unchallenged, to gain upon belief, and acquire the sanctity of a principle, in the sacred college of truth, like the hypocrite in social life, is apt to exhibit a livelier indignation and resent more violently any approach to a candid scrutiny than the soul of sincerity itself. Of this temper, I fear to be the prevailing notions respecting the nature and operation of a duty on exports, considered more especially in its relations to the faculties of the new Government now established under a Southern Confederacy. Since the time of the younger Pitt, when the principle of an export duty on "pig iron" was stigmatized in the debates of Parliament, "as a barbarism in finance," no one seems to have been disposed to question the truth of the dogma, but like an action for a "sum certain," it has gone "by default" for the want of a plea, without even a "writ of inquiry." And the judgment has, with singular energy, executed itself on this side of the Atlantic by a negative con-

demnation, in the practice of the Government from its origin. The fact, however, is less surprising, and reflects nothing of discredit upon the public intelligence, when it is considered that the principles of finance in favor with the old Government, looking to protection rather than revenue, necessarily excluded from theoretical discussion, or practical exemplification, any system for raising the national revenue, supposed to be inconsistent with that object. And hence the utter ignoring of any other method than that of duties on imports, well understood in its efficiency to that end. The political revolution, however, through which we have passed, would fail to yield its most substantial benefits if it does not bring with it a thorough determination in the general mind to go back to first principles, in all that relates to the civil organization, and resolutely to consult no other oracle than reason, guided by experience, in the reconstructing of every part of the administration. It is impossible that so great and radical a change in our external relations should not create a necessity for other changes, as signal, in the internal administration. And it is my purpose, in the following observations, thrown together hastily, though not without some reflection, to endeavor something toward drawing the public attention, and particularly the notice of the authorities at Montgomery, to a prominent change in the system of revenue, which, in my judgment, is at this time urgently demanded by every principle of domestic economy, commercial prosperity and foreign policy.

Duties on imports have so long been regarded as the only practicable method of providing the public revenue, that a proposition to repeal them will, in the minds of most people, imply a stoppage of supplies altogether at the only source capable of yielding them. In all discussions hitherto, none but the direct taxation men have ever proposed to abolish import duties altogether. The only question has been, whether the principle of revenue, or protection, should govern the scale? Perhaps in the old Union—encumbered as it was with an immense amount of manufacturing capital—which had been put upon its legs before it could walk, and required to be preserved from falling, such an idea would have been, perhaps, justly regarded as impracticable, and hence received no attention. But very different is the situation of the new Confederacy. With no excrescences of this nature in the body politic to compel a departure from the principles of sound economy, and entering upon a national existence in some respects peculiar and unprecedented, it is the very time and place for a careful scrutiny into everything pertaining to the future policy of the new Government, taking nothing upon trust from the old.

Indeed, the necessity will meet the Southern statesman at every step in framing the new order of things to recur to first principles, rejecting old and adopting new methods with equal facility, according as they shall be suitable to our altered political

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Indeed, the necessity will meet the Southern statesman at every step in framing the new order of things to recur to first principles, rejecting old and adopting new methods with equal facility, according as they shall be suitable to our altered political

relations. I am happy in believing, moreover, that the people of the Southern Confederacy are at this juncture peculiarly fortunate in the character of the men charged with the powers of government at Montgomery. Selected, as they were, by Conventions of the respective States, and at a crisis of affairs which brought into requisition the best talents in the country, it is not too much to expect that they will be fully equal to the bold and delicate task of revising or reversing old systems, retaining what may be useful or appropriate, but discarding with relentless severity everything mischievous or false, however consecrated under the forms of long established usage. In this confidence, I deem it not inappropriate to throw together some reflections upon a subject that, at the outset, must occupy the attention of the new Government, as one of paramount importance. Taxation is a topic which has at all times, and ever must continue to occupy principally the thoughts of every people, as it is chiefly through that part of the machinery of government that the citizen is affected for good or evil, and the operation of which goes far to determine his status in the scale of civil liberty.

Particularly interesting is the subject to us at this time, entering as we are upon a new national career, with a *tabula rasa*, to inscribe what characters we please, and terribly admonished by experience that it is a sea abounding in perils, and demanding the best skill of the navigator to keep clear of disaster. Without pretending to be a Palinurus, I shall proceed with a very shallow line and plummet to take some of the soundings along the shore.

It is estimated that the new Government, comprising the eight cotton States (Arkansas included), will need twenty millions of revenue to carry on its operations. The question is, how shall this be raised? The Government must have it, and somebody must pay it. There are three alternatives (laying out of view direct taxation). Shall we continue the old system of exporting duty free, and laying a tax upon imports? or shall we lay a duty on exports, additional to the duties now subsisting on imports? or shall we adopt the only other alternative, of substituting an export duty upon raw cotton for the existing import duties upon the cotton fabrics? In my judgment, the last is the scheme which can be demonstrated to be the only one founded on true revenue and commercial principles, and if adopted as the fiscal policy of the Southern Confederacy, will be speedily followed by the most striking results, as well in its economical efficiency as in its effects upon the general commerce of the country. In this belief, I propose to show—

FIRST: That an export duty, not excessive, say one cent per pound upon the cotton crop exported, yielding the twenty millions needed by the Government, will fall principally, if not wholly, upon the consumer of the fabrics, and not the producer of the raw material.

SECONDLY: That nine-tenths of a revenue so raised, will fall

upon foreign nations, one-tenth only being paid by our own citizens.

THIRDLY: That the tenth part falling upon our own citizens will be supplied by paying into the treasury only two dollars instead of the twenty-four now levied upon the domestic consumption of all imported articles of cotton fabric.

And, **FOURTHLY:** The commercial effects of such a policy, adopted by the Southern Confederacy, would be speedily to abolish the whole system of import duties in all the States, and throw open the entire American market to free trade in cotton manufactures, the object of a forty years' successful struggle in the Union.

The first question is, who will pay the tax? All writers, and, I believe, all intelligent commercial men agree that a tax laid upon any article of commerce must, sooner or later, settle itself in one of three ways—either upon the producer, or the consumer, or it must distribute itself between the two. There is an equal concurrence in the principle, that the condition of the market for the particular commodity, as determined by the relation of demand and supply, of the article taxed, will, in a great measure, if not altogether, determine which of these directions the tax will take. If the consumption be strong, and growing upon the production, it is conceded the tax will settle upon the consumer. If, on the contrary, the production be in excess, and the demand consequently feeble, it is considered equally certain that any addition to the charges would fall upon the producer. Again, in a third state of the market, when supply and demand are pretty well adjusted, neither encroaching upon the other, producing what merchants call a healthy market of uniform prices, tending strongly, neither downward or upward, such a tax, by general consent, will divide itself between the buyer and seller, in proportions certain in themselves, but not positively ascertainable by any method of analysis yet known to political economy. It may be safely affirmed, however, that it is a varying proportion, fluctuating with the changes in the tone of the market.

If these be acknowledged principles, then the question (in relation to the export duty proposed) resolves itself into one of simple fact, about which the whole intelligent world is capable of judging, and has, and is daily, in every form of expression, declaring its testimony. Which of these three conditions is the actual and normal one of the cotton market of the world? Every merchant knows. Every newspaper report of prices current declares it. The cotton spinning associations and the cabinets of Europe, treating the fact as one which has assumed the magnitude of a political question, all proclaim that the consumption of this wonderful staple is not only now in advance of the production, but the growing disparity between the two is destroying the equality of commercial values and threatening universal calamity.

I assume, then, as an indisputable fact, that the condition of

the cotton market, now and henceforward, so far as human foresight can penetrate the future, is such as will, upon acknowledged principles, governing the operations of trade, throw the duty upon the consumer—provided, however, (and this brings us to the qualification contained in the proposition,) that the duty laid be not excessive. Would a duty of one cent per pound upon raw cotton be liable to this objection? It could only be so by adding so largely to the price of the fabrics as materially to curtail consumption; for by the argument it is thrown exclusively upon the consumer. Let us consider, in a general way, how this stands. We do not aim at arithmetical precision; general truth will serve for the illustration of the principle. I will engage, however, that any departure from exactness shall be against the argument.

It is well known that a pound of raw cotton, in the various processes of manufacture, acquires a value from three times to twenty times its original cost, according as it is converted into the coarser or finer fabrics. One cent per pound upon the raw cotton, being about nine per cent. of its present value, would enhance the price of a fabric, worth thirty-three cents to the pound, not more than three per cent.; and a fabric worth two dollars to the pound, as a vast variety undoubtedly is, would not be enhanced more than one-half of one per cent. in value. All articles of intermediate value would be enhanced, more or less, according to the position they might occupy upon the scale between these extremes. The average increase of price, upon the whole mass of cotton fabrics of all descriptions consumed in the markets of the world, would not exceed two per cent.—about the mean between the highest and lowest limit above stated. The question here occurs: could so slight an advance in the price of cotton fabrics materially check a consumption, confessedly vigorous and growing in intensity, so as to curtail, in any appreciable degree, the demand for the raw material?

This question will be better answered after considering another, viz: In what class of fabrics would this advance in the price be most likely to take place—in those varieties denominated luxuries, or in the coarser descriptions consumed by the poorer classes? For it is an admitted principle among economists, whether practiced as an art at the counter, or delivered in speculation from the chair, that articles of luxury will bear taxation in much higher degree than articles of necessity, without checking consumption. The reason is plain. The cravings of fashion and caprice are as importunate as those of necessity. The difference is, that in the one case, there is abundance of means to gratify them; in the other, unhappily not so. Hence the addition of a few cents, more or less, to the price of the finer fabrics, calculated, as they are, for an affluent market, is but little felt and not regarded. Not so with the coarser fabrics. Such articles are, to a great extent, intended for a market of narrow means, already strained to its utmost by existing prices, any addition to which must, of course,

be met by the contrivances of poverty for economizing consumption. The question recurs—to which of these classes of fabrics will the tax attach itself? Let us consider this a little in detail. The bulk of the finest fabrics range from twenty-five to thirty-seven and fifty cents a yard, the most expensive varieties reaching a much higher value. The finer the fabric the greater number of yards, as a general rule, to the pound weight. The number of yards to the pound will run (keeping within average limits) from three to ten; in some varieties, less; in a greater number, more. Take an article worth thirty-seven cents a yard, requiring, as most articles of this quality are likely to do, eight yards to the pound weight; it is evident that the pound of cotton which has been converted into this fabric, has assumed a value of two dollars ninety-six cents; and if it advances no more in price than to restore the one cent imposed upon the original pound of raw cotton out of which it was manufactured, the additional cost to the consumer will be expressed by adding one cent to every two dollars ninety-six cents worth of the article he buys, and so on through the whole scale of the great variety of fabrics. I have selected this instance as a medium one, for the purpose of illustration; but we will take two other examples nearer the opposite extremes of the scale. For instance: fabrics worth eleven cents a yard, and requiring three yards to the pound, would be enhanced in the market one-third of a cent a yard, or one cent upon the pound value, being three per cent. upon the consumption. On the other hand, an article worth fifty cents a yard, and running ten, or as some do fifteen or twenty yards to the pound weight, it is manifest that the cent imposed upon the raw material is lost in the attempt to trace it, and resolves into an infinitesimal quantity as to any effect it can have upon price or in reducing consumption.

These principles, practically understood by every retail dealer in cotton fabrics of the different varieties, what will be his method of recovering the one cent per pound from his customer, the consumer? Will he commit the blunder of putting any part of the tax, small as it is, upon the coarser fabrics, where it will be immediately felt, and to that extent curtail his sales in them? or will he make the class of finer fabrics bear the tax, distributing the whole tax among the varieties that will not feel it, and thereby prevent a reduction of his business in the coarser articles? His economy is too plain to be mistaken. And this develops a feature of the system by no means the least valuable. No system of fixed taxes, such as the existing tariff, however faithfully graduated and discriminative in its efforts to throw upon each article just so much tax as it will bear, without reducing consumption (the strictly revenue principle), can ever do more in practical operation than approximate to its own principle. The difficulty is intrinsic. The scale is inflexible, the ability of consumption infinitely and perpetually variable. The

means adopted to effect the end are as inadequate and intrinsically unfit, as would be a yard or an ell for the measurement of a running fluid, and as impossible to be exact, as to establish an equation between a given and a shifting quantity. Those familiar with the details, in this branch of the public administration, understand the truth of this perhaps better than I do. It is admitted, however, by all intelligent statesmen, that the chief, if not the only test, of the merit of any scheme of finance is the degree in which, in its practical results, it effectuates this principle. If, then, the retail merchant exercise his trade with the discriminating intelligence above supposed, distributing the export duty upon the various fabrics he sells to his customers, just in proportion as he perceives will meet the ability and willingness of the consumer, have we not here a tax levying itself, upon a self-adjusting principle, by force of the laws governing the operations of trade, as exactly conformable to the standard of theory, as can possibly be conceived? Every retail merchant is converted into a tax collector, not inexorably levying an inflexible tax, the nature of all fixed scales, but making it his chief study, as it is his interest and the very art of his trade, to measure the exaction to the ability of the tax payer, and accommodate its collection to his convenience; thus realizing the perfect standard of theory, viz: a variable scale of duties in exact sympathy with every fluctuation in the means and ability of the consumer.

We are now prepared to answer the question above deferred. Will a direct tax of two per cent. upon the consumption of the world, shifting itself, as we have seen this will inevitably do, from all articles which would be distressed by the additional burden, upon those descriptions which would neither be materially enhanced in market price nor withdrawn from the reach of the affluence that consumes them, be excessive, or operate such a reduction of the consumption of cotton fabrics in the aggregate as to react sensibly upon the value of the raw material? If the foregoing facts and reasoning are not delusive, the question is already answered.

If, then, we may assume it as reasonably established that the duty in question will shift itself upon the consumer, our second proposition, that nine-tenths of the entire revenue levied upon this principle will fall upon foreigners, and the remaining one-tenth only upon our citizens, will prove itself by a very simple statement of facts. It is estimated that the whole cotton crop exported, worth in the raw state two hundred millions of dollars, by conversion into the various fabrics, acquires an increase of five times its original value, giving an aggregate value of one billion of dollars in the shape of manufactures annually consumed in the markets of the world. Of this enormous amount, not more than one-tenth, as near as can be computed, comes back for consumption into the States (Arkansas included) composing the Southern Confederacy, making an import of one hundred millions.

In this proportion then must all revenue, derived from such a source, divide itself between the citizens of the Confederacy and foreign nations. The home consumers pay one-tenth of the whole, and all the rest of the consuming world the other nine-tenths. Two per cent. upon the whole consumption, foreign and domestic, gives exactly the twenty millions, two millions of which only are drawn from our own citizens. But this is not all; the tenth part drawn from the home consumer will be vastly more than restored to him by the repeal of the existing duties upon the same articles. The enormous difference between twenty-four per cent., the existing duty, and two per cent., the effect of the export duty, will be the measure of saving upon all articles of consumption; and the result will exhibit the singular spectacle, paradoxical as it may seem, of a treasury supplied, overflowing with revenue, and the people growing richer by every act of contribution. By the change proposed, it is clear that for every two dollars taken from the citizen by the indirect operation of the export duty, twenty-four will be remitted to him, now exacted directly under the import system.

The commercial effects of such a policy, apart from its features, as a scheme of finance, would soon exhibit themselves in a manner not less striking. The opening of the Southern ports, under a system of free trade, would speedily force upon the maritime States of the North a similar policy. They would have to elect, and that promptly, between an entire loss of their foreign trade, or a compliance with our example. It would be impossible, without ruinous expense, to keep up a system of custom collection upon the border line, that would effectually prevent so light and costly a class of merchandize as cotton manufactures, imported under the free trade system, into the Southern Confederacy, from penetrating every part of the North and North-west. The very streets of Boston and New York would be thronged with fabrics purchased in Charleston and New Orleans. It is not difficult to foresee that in an incredibly short time, the whole American market would be thrown open to free trade with the world. If so, then how does it stand with the planter, who may still have a lurking apprehension that some fractional part of the export tax may fall on him? Grant, for the argument, that some part, nay, the whole of it, does; what effect does he suppose such an expansion of a market, consisting of thirty-five millions of the best consumers in the world, accomplished, as it only can be, by the application of an export duty, will have upon the price of the raw material? The answer, as before shown, is expressed in the ratio between two and twenty-four. The effect upon the value of the raw material must be just so much as is to be expected from taking off twenty-two dollars from every hundred and twenty-four dollars of price for the fabrics in so rich and populous a market. What this would be upon the pound, it is impossible to know precisely. It must be left to those most con-

versant with the subject, to say, whether it is not reasonably certain that it would at least restore the export duty thrice over. If the foregoing views be not delusive, then it is certain that a tariff upon the cotton exports is not alone the only tariff that can be devised practically to execute the revenue principle, but that it exhibits a feature in practice more perfect than theory, viz: a method of raising revenue without impoverishing the people, and taxing consumption without curtailing it.

But there is another view to be taken of the question. A system of finance resting upon this principle, is the great lever placed in our hands by the natural advantages of our situation, whereby, at this critical juncture, we may lift our national existence into an early recognition among foreign powers, and acquire at once the importance which we know belongs to us. The revolution thus suddenly forced upon the commerce of the country, would do more, and in less time, than armies and navies, to bring our Northern neighbors to a just sense of the relative strength of the two Confederacies, and teach foreign nations, in a way too striking to be ignored, at which end of the old Union they will find their assiduity the most amply rewarded. The temporary eclipse we are now suffering in the eyes of Europe, consequent upon the recent dissolution, will soon give place to the discovery, that not we, but it is themselves, that are under the shadow.

It is not my purpose to descant upon the effects such a policy, adopted by ourselves, would have upon Northern interests. Believing that so long as peace subsists, every nation is interested in the wealth and prosperity of every other nation, I would be glad to perceive, if such are to be our relations, a more hopeful prospect for our neighbors than I am permitted at this time to discover. How their immense manufacturing investments are to flourish under free trade, is a problem. This much, however, I certainly know: they must either come down with a crash, or the great majority of the people of the United States have for forty years been swindled upon a scale more gigantic than the South Sea bubble or the old National Bank. We are further permitted to know, that with the repeal of import duties at the North, comes the only other method in their power of raising revenue—direct taxation. And if “guns and drums,” and “brave hosts with banners flying,” are to be the role on which they mean, now, or hereafter, to enter, the supplies for the costly pastime must be drawn directly from their lands and goods. At this expense, we have been taught to believe, Jonathan never buys his whistle. We have spent our national pupilage at school with him, and ought to know something of his nature. We have slept with him, (in our own bed,) ate with him, (at our own board,) and taken many a thrashing for the mendicant in the winding up of a scrape, instigated by his own rascality, from which he ever contrived to escape. Who ever heard of Solomon swapping a hawk for a heronshaw? The taint of fanaticism

fetches from old Barebones is more than qualified by a sense of the practical, and no bigot in the world is less likely to be betrayed into the thriftless example of the honest old crusader, of selling his patrimony, for Christ's sake, to equip an expedition against the infidel.

In conclusion, the adoption of the system proposed will not only save half the expense now attending the collection of the customs, but will obviate the vastly greater expense that will be necessary in our new situation, to protect the revenue against ruinous frauds. The alteration in our political geography by the recent dissolution of the Union gives to the Southern Confederacy a border line extending from the seacoast to the western extremity of Texas, upwards of one thousand miles in extent. It is palpable that, under a system of import duties, all articles from the North entering into domestic consumption, now constituting a very large proportion, would, if encountered at the seaports by the custom house officer, attempt to find their way to the market across this line. To prevent this, it would be necessary to establish, along its whole extent, a system of custom houses and military stations, the expenses of which would devour another revenue in raising one for the Government. And, after every every precaution, it has been the experience of the world that frauds, to a greater or less extent, would be successful. In situations much less favorable to smuggling, and much better guarded by nature and administrative appliances than ours can ever be, it has been found that ingenuity and daring, actuated by cupidity, will ever devise means to elude the vigilance of the Government. Among a people like ours, unused to such institutions, and educated to regard them as the symbols of despotism, the attempt to enforce the law, necessarily severe as it must be, against smuggling, would lead to insurrection and bloodshed on both sides of the line, and, finally, in all probability, terminate in war with our neighbors. But, after every precaution taken, and all the risks incurred, it would be rendered impossible, by geographical obstacles, the sameness in the language and physical features of the people, and their singularly adventurous character, to protect the revenue from ruinous frauds. And, what would be the effect upon the character of our people, and the emporiums of trade in the Southern Confederacy, of illicit traffic, systematically carried on, to any extent, in the interior? It would demoralize the national character, beget a habit of disloyalty and secret hostility to the civil authorities, introduce a spirit of lawlessness and reckless contempt of law and morality, that would soon terminate in a general and open defiance of the Government and a relaxation of all the bonds of organized society. The cities would languish in their trade, recede in activity and wealth, and be depopulated; and business in all legitimate employments be visited with distress and bankruptcy. Such would be the inevitable consequences of an attempt by the Government

of the Southern Confederacy to levy the public revenue upon the principle of duties upon foreign imports, unless, indeed, we mean to put the North on the privileged footing of free trade in commercial intercourse. But this cannot be done without sacrificing much the largest part of the revenue. If, then, nothing else in the foregoing views were correct except this that relates to the point of smuggling, it would seem to be practicably futile to attempt to raise the public revenue by any system of duties on imports. It follows that, as revenue must be had, some other method must be resorted to. There is no choice but between direct taxation and an export duty. And, though I am not one of those who scout direct taxation, when compared in its merits with the system of import tariffs, I am yet fully persuaded, taking the views hitherto expressed of the wonderful economy of the principle of export duties, its adaptation to the circumstances and situation of the Southern Confederacy, and the ability of the revenue, raised upon this principle, to protect itself without the aid of armies or custom-houses, that it is, and always must be, the great policy of the South. Indeed, I regard its speedy adoption by the Administration at Montgomery, as urgently demanded, in the still dubious relations of the country, if we mean to maintain, in good faith, and with a resolute will, our separate existence as an independent nation.

NOTE.

It will be perceived that the plan, as delineated in the foregoing pages, does not contemplate a repeal of any class of import duties, other than those upon cotton fabrics. This limitation is not because the writer is not in favor of the importation of all articles of consumption duty free. But no further encroachment upon the existing system was necessary to exhibit the practical working of the scheme proposed, as a system of finance (to its best advantage). Without any repeal, however, the method proposed would be infinitely more economical than the present system. All other duties are left untouched, for the wisdom of the occasion either to repeal or continue upon a reduced scale, in aid of that derived from the export duty. It is manifest that a very low scale would furnish any deficit now or hereafter.

ADDENDUM.

Since sending the foregoing to press, Mr. Lincoln's inaugural has appeared, and calls up another consideration connected with this subject. Its tone and implication seem to look to coercion, in a way that shall not, in his estimation, according to the standards of his nurture, bring on or justify resistance by bloodshed. It would seem, therefore, to contemplate the collection of the revenue on the bar, in armed vessels, if any significance is to be attached to the twaddle about his unwillingness to thrust upon the community Federal officers obnoxious to its prejudices. How effectually does the export duty baffle the impotence of any such attempt? The duty having been collected, and paid into the Treasury, and the property passed into foreign hands before taking the water, all the navies in Christendom, stationed at the bar, could not defeat the Government of its revenue; and the worst that could befall, in a pecuniary estimate, if the duties on imports should for a time be successfully enforced, would be to elevate the price in

the domestic market two per cent. upon all articles of strictly foreign import, (their own principles exempting, of course, their own manufactures,) not constituting one-third of the domestic consumption. The result would be a tax of twenty-six instead of the existing twenty-four per cent. upon one-third of the consumption of the Southern Confederacy.

So small an enhancement of cotton fabrics in the markets of the Confederacy, shifting itself, as before shown, upon the varieties of luxury, would occasion little distress or inconvenience to the citizen, and if persisted in, as a system of passive warfare, would prove itself vastly more expensive to its managers, and provocative of disputes with foreign powers, than effectual for any purpose of coercing the sovereign will of the Confederacy. Such a state of things, if existing for any time, would afford a striking illustration of the advantages of the principle of export duties, viewed as a system of finance, adapted to the exigencies of war. The Government could supply itself with an abundant revenue, impossible to be intercepted by the enemy, and the people sustain themselves, without sensible injury, under a confiscation of twenty-four per cent. of the value of all foreign imports entering into their consumption.

The only alternative then left to Mr. Lincoln, if he persist in coercion, would be to abolish all ports of entry, and lay an embargo upon the commerce of the Southern Confederacy; and in deference to the recent growl of the British Lion about paper blockades, as well as the undoubted principles of the law of nations, it must be supported by a naval force adequate to maintain it upon the strictest principles of the law of projectiles. But is it conceivable that England would, or could, long submit to such an interruption of her commerce? By a great effort of self-denial, not foreseeing at what moment the growing power of France may drive her for shelter to the protecting maxims of a code which she has seldom hesitated (under the temptations of interest) to violate in her intercourse with weaker powers, under this constraint, I say, England might, for a time, dispense with the South as a market of consumption for her manufactures. But how long will she submit to the imposition of an embargo, cutting her off from the only market in the world for the purchase of her cotton supplies? She would be false to her history, aye, and to the last and highest law of nations too, if the tomfoolery of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet, under the silly pretext of the chapter in the law of nations, treating of the rights of the Sovereign to reduce his revolted provinces were not whistled down the wind, and the Government at Washington gently, but significantly, informed by Minister Lyons that Grotius and Puffendorf invented their maxims before the era of cotton, and that the revolted provinces, attempted to be appropriated, are like the sea, the air, the light of heaven, the common property of mankind, from which no one proprietor can or shall exclude another. That though the word cotton is not to be found in the writings of those venerable sages, yet that the principle governing the question is written in characters of light in every part of them. That the exclusion from cotton would threaten the stability of half the thrones in Exrope, and that nature and nations declare that necessity is the highest law.

ART. VII.—SOUTHERN TRADE.

[The following sketch was prepared before the secession of the Southern States, but its publication has been delayed until now.]—Ed.

IN all ages of the world, those nations have become the most wealthy and enlightened that have carried on most

Southern trade. We of the slave States are admirably situated to trade with Mexico, the West Indies and South America, and better situated than European countries for trade with Southern Asia and the Isles of the Pacific. The Northern States are nearer to Europe than we, have better harbors, more capital, greater commercial and nautical skill, and will therefore always excel us in conducting European trade. It is only profitable to them, however, as a means of monopolizing our trade. We should have a direct trade with Europe, in order not only to render us independent of the North, but to lessen the profits that are made out of us by the present indirect trade. The North now, by carrying on our commerce with Europe, makes as much out of us as Europe itself. We are, as respects them, Southern countries, and of course ours is the loss and theirs the profit in our business relations. Yet, to dispose of our agricultural surplus, we must continue to trade with Europe. History teaches us that Southern people are impoverished and degraded by dealing with Northern people; or, to speak more accurately, that agricultural people are impoverished and degraded by dealing with manufacturing and commercial States: impoverished, because the agricultural surplus consumed abroad robs the land of its natural manure and soon exhausts its fertility; degraded, because mere agriculture requires precious little intellect to cultivate it. The South sees the necessity of direct trade, of home manufactures, of Southern commerce, of more varied industrial pursuits, of self-reliance and self-dependence.

The Northern majority in Congress will continue to do all it can to thwart and defeat all measures calculated to extend our empire or our trade farther South. The Southern States are their slave colonies, their dependents, their tributaries. They would keep us in a state of national infancy and pupilage. They would not have us learn to walk alone; would not have us conduct our own trade in our own vessels; manufacture for ourselves, and manufacture for a trade with the farther South. We are now their hewers of wood and drawers of water: they wish not to emancipate us. They see we are far better situated for Southern trade—for the only trade that enriches and enlightens a people—than they. They know that, if we become a commercial and manufacturing people, they will be impoverished and ruined. But, in the Union or out of it, the South now sees and feels that we must lessen trade and intercourse and cut off dependence on the North.

They are dangerous acquaintances, treacherous friends, faithless allies, incendiary guests, inmates and visitors, and cruel and exacting taskmasters. We will keep aloof from them; write our books; encourage our own periodicals; educate our sons and daughters at home; employ only Southern teachers, and build up Southern commerce, mechanic arts and manufactures. Every monument of ancient art, every mouldering architectural ruin, every decaying and every exhumed city, teaches the one lesson, that great wealth, great power, and high refinement are only to be attained by trade and commerce with agricultural people of inferior mechanic skill, and in a low state of civilization. Trade, in which small amounts of the results of mechanic and manufacturing labor were exchanged for large amounts of the results of agricultural labor, built up all the great cities and states of ancient and modern times. Not only history, but the situation of ancient cities, shows that they were not built up by the agriculture round about them, but by distant trade. It was the poverty around them that sharpened their wits, excited invention, and stimulated energy and industry. Their trade not only supported them in comfort and in magnificent luxury, but furnished a surplus of skill and labor, which enabled them to erect those beautiful, grand, colossal, and ever-enduring monuments of arts and architecture, which will hand down the memory of their wealth, enlightenment, power and magnificence to the remotest posterity. Mere agriculture barely supports the nations engaged in it—and supports them in ignorance and dependence. They are obliged to exchange large amounts of agricultural products for small amounts of mechanic and manufacturing products. It is thus that Southern trade enriches the distant cities that carry it on, and impoverishes the mere farming South. It is thus that we are fleeced by trade with Europe and the North.

Nothing but extending our far Southern trade can correct these great evils. Our advantageous locality invites us to encourage and increase this trade. The insecurity of our position, growing out of our too intimate relations with the North, will force us to prosecute it at once, and to prosecute it energetically. We need expect no aid from the Federal Government. That Government will exert all its power and influence to keep us in our present state of dependence, and exclude us from a Southern trade that would make us rich, powerful and independent.

We should not try to annex Cuba, but rather to cultivate

friendly relations with Spain, and endeavor to arrange a favorable commercial treaty with her. Were we to conquer Cuba, we should weaken the cause of slavery by lessening the number of nations interested in it, and add Spain to the number of its enemies. Besides, it is very probable that the slaves of Cuba would be emancipated during the struggle to acquire her, or after her conquest, by our abolition Federal Government. This Cuba project is of Northern birth and Northern nursing: we fear the Greeks and their presents.

In the continual revolutions and civil wars that are occurring in Mexico and South America, Southern men may, with great propriety, ally themselves with one of the contending parties, and, when required, give peace, quiet, stability and security to society. After that, it will be easy for the South to form good commercial treaties with these regenerated states.

ART. VIII.—A YANKEE'S TRAVELS IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.*

LET Parliamentary documents, piled ceiling high, say what they please, and commercial records roll up their long columns of figures—nay, let even the universal consent of men be given to the fact, which these documents and figures prove, that the British West India Islands were ruined by emancipation, there are still left those who stand ready to give the lie, patent and direct, to the whole, as a cunningly devised story, and among the number is our Yankee traveller, who communicated his views to the *New York Times*, which the Messrs. Harper collect here in book form.

Our traveller disclaims (of course) any inference, or to “point any conclusion, favorable or unfavorable, to slave labor in the United States.” It is the usual disclaimer of the Black Republican when we charge upon his teaching the John Brown raid. The doctrine and the teaching are never to be applied—oh, no! and the Constitution, as interpreted by himself, when the power is in his hands, is never to be perverted to our ruin. Tender mercies of the wolf to the bleeding lamb—gentle wooing of the spider to the fly!

Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, is the first point visited by our traveller. It is European in all of its characteristics:

* *The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies.* By Wm. G. Sewell. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1861.

"The climate is not tropical; it is to be imagined and felt, for it cannot be described. Select the most perfect day that September ever presented to New York, and I should do injustice to a Barbadian sun and Barbadian breezes if I compared Barbadian with American weather. The sun necessarily gives out a great heat, but it is always tempered by incessant winds and by intermittent showers. Night or day, in winter or in summer, the temperature knows no change. The inconveniences of heat are seldom felt; the penalties of cold are never known. There are no thunder storms like those which desolate more elevated regions within the torrid zones; no poisonous reptiles of any kind; no annoying insects like those which in summer months will make known their presence even in the latitude of New York. The appearance of the houses, which are of one story, and built solidly of stone, may, perhaps, remind you that you are in a country where the severities of winter are not even imagined, and, after you have entered them, you will no longer fancy yourself in a European or a North American dwelling. The spacious rooms, with polished pine floors, the contrivances to make everything about you look cool, as well as to make you feel cool—the huge pitchers of icewater on the sideboards and the comfortable cane chairs, placed so as to catch the never-ending breezes—are luxuries here which one might look for as necessities in other tropical countries."

Barbadoes, says Mr. Sewell, is now infinitely more prosperous than she was in the palmiest days of slavery. Very good, notwithstanding the figures, which "never lie."

But are we to attribute this excellence to emancipation when our author admits, on page 32 :

"The rate of wages for field labor in Barbadoes is about twenty-four cents per day; but the laborer, fettered by the system of tenancy-at-will, is compelled to work for his landlord at twenty cents per day. He is, therefore, virtually a slave; for if he resists the conditions of his bond he is ejected by summary process, and loses the profit he hoped to reap on his little stock. This remnant of coercion must be abolished wherever it exists—and it prevails, with some exceptions, in all the West India colonies—before it can be said that emancipation has been thoroughly tested."

And on page 36 :

"In Barbadoes, through their over-crowded condition and the policy of the planter, the people have been kept in a subservient condition."

It seems, however, that the planters who have had a hundred years' experience with negro character, and a third of a hundred with negro freedom, know nothing at all really in comparison with our Yankee Solon who has wintered upon the island.

"The planting interest of these islands may be characterized as one of unqualified selfishness. But it has not the merit of being imprudent, sagacious or far-seeing selfishness. Extravagant in all that pertained to their own ease and luxury; penurious when the improvement, moral, social, or political, of the people was in question; tenacious of their aristocratic privileges, opposed to reform, and behind the age in political, agricultural and mechanical science, the planters themselves have done all they could to retard the progress of the West India colonies, and to aggravate the evils which an ill-planned and untimely scheme of emancipation entailed upon the islands. There was not the broad, grasping selfishness of a powerful oligarchy, wise enough to combine their own aggrandizement with that of the nation at

large; but it has been, from first to last, a narrow-minded selfishness that pursued crooked paths to accumulate gain at the expense of the public weal, and to the infinite detriment of the colonial credit."

Emancipation has not, our traveller admits, brought morality in its train, for he has seen "exhibitions of passion, cruelty and vice," which in slavery the negro could never emulate. He has seen shocking barbarity to children by parents, and admits promiscuous intercourse among the sexes to be almost universal—"more than half of the colored children being illegitimate." The fact stands out, despite of every theory to the contrary, that Sambo in general *don't* work; our author grows indignant here, and shows that he *WILL* work, if he can do it *upon his own terms*. Happy Sambo, with this boon accorded him—a boon which neither his white laboring brethren of new or old England enjoy!

"Won't work? Why should they work for the planter, and bind themselves to a new tyranny? Where is the moral obligation that chains them forever to the serfdom of estate labor? Why should they work for a master when they can work more profitably for themselves, and enjoy at the same time a perfect independence? Why should they work for anyone who does not take the trouble to point out a single advantage to be gained in his service? Would an American work for another on any such terms? I have shown that the negro has grave faults of character—faults which, unchecked, must affect the prosperity of a country in which the laboring population are of African descent; but I do believe that, under a wiser system of plantation management than that practised in most of the colonies, and with more extended education, these faults would be speedily eradicated."

Notwithstanding the pretence of the Abolition party, that in asking for negro emancipation, they never dream of bringing about social equality between the whites and blacks (certainly this equality does not exist in any free State), and, least of all, would favor the amalgamation of the races, our traveller devotes nearly a whole chapter in denunciation of the West India planters, who still perversely make color a line of distinction, and will not associate, commune and intermarry with the descendants of their former slaves. This state of things, he thinks, is heaping up wrath against the day of wrath on these *happy free negro islands*, and the mulattoes are to work out the redemption of their race by some furious demonstration. In his benevolent heart he can barely hope that the passionate and revengeful temper of the colored people would not carry them beyond the bounds of moderation, and make them "dissatisfied with *mere political equality*." Agrarian and Red Republican teachings! Substitute occupation or poverty in place of color as grounds of social exclusion,

and apply the teachings, and we shall have society reduced to chaos. Let the free North reflect—to apply a vulgar adage—that chickens will at last come home to roost.

We extract a very glowing description of Trinidad :

"The whole island, in its physical character, is one of the most beautiful that it is possible to imagine. Lofty mountains run in parallel ranges east and west, intersected by deep valleys which contract into gorges at the centre. Nature could offer nothing more magnificent for sugar cultivation than these valleys with their rich alluvial soil, and the hill-sides are admirably adapted to the growth of the cacao, and tropical fruits and vegetables. Except at the Naparimas, where the principal sugar plantations are situated, and which present a district of uninterrupted cultivation, Trinidad has the appearance of a wild, unreclaimed, and densely-wooded country, broken up with savannas. Select any elevated point for a view, and the picturesqueness and variety of the landscape are marvellous. Here will be a hill-side smothered in the golden blossoms of the poui; there another, covered with the orange flower of the roble; beyond, a forest of gigantic cedar. Those feathery masses of light green on the left are clusters of arched bamboo, stretching over the banks of a rivulet which can just be distinguished through the luxuriant vegetation. At your feet, like a bright red carpet, extends a young cacao plantation, sheltered from the scorching heat by the motherly arms of the *bois immortel*; farther on, a savanna or a cane field, or a grove of lofty cocoanut trees, and in the distance the deep blue sea. Such a variety of rich, voluptuous coloring is very rarely witnessed in a single landscape view. The birds of 'northern climes abhorred,' would not harmonize here, and Nature, when she filled the scene with myriads of the feathered tribes, clothed them with a brilliant plumage that none but the Great Limner could reproduce.

"With only a present population of seventy thousand or eighty thousand souls, Trinidad can sustain a million. Its soil is of exceeding richness, and of the million and a quarter acres which cover its surface, twenty-nine thirtieths are fit for cultivation. Its resources are immense; every product of the tropics, and many fruits and vegetables of temperate regions, can be grown here; and a laboring population is only wanted to develop the wealth that lies hidden in forests tenanted still by some scattered representatives of the ancient Carib."

It is not a little amusing to see the shifts to which abolition doctors are driven when they come to deal with the disease of slavery and its remedies. Whilst some, represented to be their quacks, look to the matter of darkey amelioration alone, without regard to their Caucasian brothers, the illuminati, Seward, Wayland, &c., prescribe it as the means of elevating the white races, so *brutalized* in slave countries, and of increasing wealth, resources, commerce, and material prosperity, so sluggishly conducted there. Our traveller is of the first class. In adducing evidences of Sambo's elevation since *philanthropy* made him free, he is all exultation, and never once repines in chronicling the decay of his pale-faced brother. What if poverty and ruin have fallen upon that brother? a gain has been made to philanthropy in giving Sambo the right to roam at pleasure

as in his native wilds, with only such restraints as hunger may dictate. Can wealth and opulence be better exhausted than in such a cause? Were these fine islands not intended by God and Nature more for darkey than European civilization? Make the negro free, say our abolitionists, and the slothful agriculture of the South will double its results and spread prosperity abroad. Our author found the experience of Trinidad quite the reverse:

"The laborers, as soon as they were free, asked, and for a time received, higher wages than the planters, encumbered as their property was with debt, could afford to pay; and when this rate of wages was subsequently reduced, the majority of the emancipated deserted the estates to better their condition and to seek a more independent livelihood. A very large number purchased small tracts of land and began to plant for themselves; a few squatted on crown lands, of which the Government holds an enormous proportion; while many took to trade, and, setting up as petty shopkeepers in the towns, pursued a calling more congenial with their tastes and inclinations."

"They accordingly did leave the estates; and in a few years after abolition, the majority of the entire laboring force—itsself always inadequate to the wants of the large and rapidly developing colony—were lost to the proprietary. Several estates, for want of necessary labor, were deserted, and at one time it seemed probable that sugar cultivation in Trinidad would be altogether abandoned."

The author cannot find it in his heart to blame Sambo—what Yankee could?—for giving up labor when he could live upon his wits!

"Unquestionably there is a certain amount of idleness and vagabondism among the Creole laborers of Trinidad, but I see no evidence that these vices exist in a larger proportion among them than they would exist among any other class of laborers similarly situated. In leaving the estates the great majority were actuated by a desire to better their circumstances and to lead a more independent life. Land was cheap and abundant, and they preferred to have their own property rather than labor at low wages in a condition of precarious servitude."

Whilst admitting that morality had declined in Trinidad since emancipation, and that illegitimate births are one hundred and thirty-six to one hundred, he goes on to show why Sambo will not work in the field; and, pray, why would not the argument apply in Carolina, Mississippi or Louisiana as well?

"Work in the cane-fields was the negro's sole occupation in the days of slavery, and this species of work he is now disposed to look upon as degrading, and to fancy that it drags him back to the condition of servitude from which he has been liberated. Here we find an explanation of the large and utterly disproportionate numbers of colored people engaged in trade—from keeping a store down to selling a sixpence-worth of mangoes on the street. Not only have the tradesmen of 1830 and the free Creoles of that period continued to follow mercantile and mechanical pursuits, but the laborers after they were freed made every exertion to bring up their children as traders or mechanics, and the consequence is, that to-day these professions

in Trinidad are almost entirely supplied from the colored population. If we take Port-of-Spain as an illustration, we find that four-fifths of the inhabitants, Creoles of African descent, are engaged in trade."

On page 155 our traveller complains of a fearful mortality among the black children of Antigua, and states the total mortality of all classes as equal to the births, which he ingenuously explains to result from the "want of medical care," for which, of course, the whites are made responsible. He adds, and this admission is certainly surprising:

"In the days of slavery, hospitals and medical attendance for all were provided by the estates; but now that the majority of laborers have ceased to be residents on properties, and this obligation but partially exists, the greater number of them, distributed about the country in populous villages, are either unwilling or unable to obtain the necessary medical attendance and proper nursing in illness for themselves, their children, or their relatives."

There is something atrocious in the following paragraph, and it resembles what may be supposed to be the gloatings of some Wendell Phillips or future John Brown contemplating the fair fields of the South and magnificent estates which their insane teachings have given up to desolation. Even the writer stands aghast at the picture, and in spite of himself, shows a "touch of nature" in the italicized lines:

"There are many who believe that great crimes against society, in the case of nations as in that of individuals, are followed by certain punishment; and, to such, the impoverished condition of the Jamaica planters of the present day will seem but a natural consequence of a long reign of avarice and cruelty, of extravagance and oppression. I do not seek to take up this parable against them. But it is not to be denied that they are the chief, if not the only sufferers. The large landed proprietors and merchant potentates of the island, these are the men who have fallen from their high estate. The slaves of other days, the poor, the peasantry, these are the men who have progressed, if not in morality, at least in material prosperity, as I shall have ample opportunity to show. If the change could be traced solely to emancipation, I should be loth to justify emancipation, believing as I do that it would be wholly inconsistent with morality or the dictates of a sound policy to degrade that portion of the population which controlled the elements of civilization, in order to enrich an ignorant and undisciplined people. But the decline of Jamaica has been so stupendous as of itself to create a doubt whether it can be laid, in whole or even in part, to the emancipation of the slaves."

The decline of Jamaica is shown in the statistics before us to have been from 150,000 hhds. of sugar, exported in 1805, to 28,000 hhds. in 1859. From other sources we learn the decline of rum to have been from 93,950 to 15,991 hhds., and of coffee from 24,000,000 to 7,000,000 lbs. ! The following picture of Kingston, the capital, ought to satisfy any of the adherents of the Lincoln school. Most assuredly emancipation is not responsible for this, for see the dilapi-

dation and ruin which slavery has caused in Havana, New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Richmond and Nashville!!

"If the City of Kingston be taken as an illustration of the prosperity of Jamaica, the visitor will arrive at more deplorable conclusions than those pointed out by commercial statistics. It seems like a romance to read to-day, in the capital of Jamaica, the account of that capital's former splendor. Its 'magnificent churches,' now time-worn and decayed, are scarcely superior to the stables of some Fifth Avenue magnate. There is not a house in the city in decent repair; not one that looks as though it could withstand a respectable breeze; not a wharf in good order; not a street that can exhibit a square yard of pavement; no sidewalks; no drainage; scanty water; no light. The same picture of neglect and apathy greets one everywhere. In business part of the town you are oppressed with its inactivity. Clerks loiter at the counters, or hail with greedy looks the solitary stranger who comes to purchase. If a non-resident, he is made to suffer for the dullness of the market. Prices that in New York would be deemed exorbitant must be paid by strangers for the common necessities of life. The Jamaicans remind me much of the Bahama wreckers. Having little or nothing themselves, they look upon a steamer-load of California passengers, cast away in their harbor for a night or a day, as very Egyptians, whom it is not only their privilege but their duty to despoil.

"There is nothing like work done in Kingston, except, perhaps, in the establishments of a few European or American merchants, or on the piers, now and then, at the loading or unloading of vessels. The city was originally well laid out, but it is not ornamented with a single tree, and the square, in a central location, is a barren desert of sand, white-hot with exposure to the blazing sun. The streets are filthy, the beach-lots more so, and the commonest laws of health are totally disregarded. Wreck and ruin, destitution and neglect! There is nothing new in Kingston. The people, like their horses, their houses, and all that belongs to them, look old and worn. There are no improvements to be noted, not a device, ornament, or conceit of any kind to indicate the presence of taste or refinement. The inhabitants, taken *en masse*, are steeped to the eyelids in immorality; promiscuous intercourse of the sexes is the rule; the population shows an unnatural decrease; illegitimacy exceeds legitimacy; abortion and infanticide are not unknown. Kingston looks what it is, a place where money has been made, but can be made no more. It is used up and cast aside as useless. Nothing is replaced that time destroys. If a brick tumbles from a house to the street, it remains there; if a spout is loosened by the wind, it hangs by a thread till it falls; if furniture is accidentally broken, the idea of having it mended is not entertained. The marks of a helpless poverty are upon the faces of the people whom you meet, in their dress, in their very gait.

"Have I described a God-forsaken place, in which no one seems to take an interest, without life and without energy, old and dilapidated, sickly and filthy, cast away from the anchorage of sound morality, of reason, and of common sense? Then, verily, have I described Kingston in 1860. Yet this wretched hulk is the capital of an island the most fertile in the world; it is blessed with a climate most glorious; it lies rotting in the shadow of mountains that can be cultivated from summit to base, with every product of temperate and tropical regions; it is mistress of a harbor where a thousand line-of-battle ships can safely ride at anchor."

What a beautiful, romantic character the writer attaches to the Sambos and Dinahs of this fair isle, who *give as much labor as they consistently can*, and who make no combi-

nations against those who are the authors or victims of their great felicity! Verily, one is reminded of Mungo Park's pretty pictures of Africa—an inferior darkey paradise:

"I wish to show that he gives as much labor, even to the sugar estate, as he consistently can, and that it is no fault of his if he cannot give enough. I wish to exhibit the people of Jamaica as a peaceable, law-abiding peasantry, with whom the remembrance of past wrongs has had so little weight that, from the day of emancipation until now, they have never dreamt of a hostile combination either against their old masters or the government under which they live, though insurrections in the time of slavery were numerous and terrible, and were only suppressed after much bloodshed and lavish expenditure. I wish to bear witness to their courtesy. When I had occasion to ask for cocoanuts or oranges on the wayside, the settler generally refused payment for the fruit."

There are many descriptions of country, scenery, &c., scattered through Mr. Sewell's work, but they are in the main dull and prosy. One can scarcely imagine that he is speaking of a rich tropical region in which nature has been profuse of every gorgeous ornament. He is too busy in looking for a needle in the haystack to notice more prominent objects. Mr. Se-well, it must be admitted, has a wonderful obtuseness in telling us what he has seen.

The West India negroes do not celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation as other people do. They have no Fourth of July. Time only can show whether we, in this part of the world, will continue to have one. Its liberties have to be—but assuredly will be—won again! Here is a description of the great festival on the islands:

"It was Christmas eve—a season at which the West Indian negro goes wild with excitement. Old drums, trumpets, kettles, bells, and anything that can make a noise, are brought out; dancers dance violently, and fiddlers fiddle violently, without any regard to time or tune; and masquerading and psalm singing are alternately kept up until New Year's day is fairly past. No negro will work for love or money during the carnival time. He is literally demented, and can hardly give a sane answer to the most ordinary question. All night long, and for eight successive nights, an infernal din—a concert of cracked drums, shrill voices, and fire crackers—is maintained. Those poor devils who cannot enjoy this species of amusement suffer the most exquisite torture. I passed the whole season in the country, and saw exhibitions of excitement that made me think the actors fit subjects for a lunatic asylum; but, though I mixed freely among the people, I was always most civilly treated, and never on any of these occasions did I see a negro in a state of intoxication."

After the fair trial, which reasonable people might think a third of a century had given to the emancipation scheme, it seems that the planters are far from satisfied, and unreasonable men still look back to the old flesh-pots of prosperity. For this they are soundly rated:

"Throughout many changes, social and political, the same selfishness will be found at the root of all their schemes; the same disregard of truth in their public statements; the same opposition to popular freedom, progress and enlightenment in their acts. It was on the ground of humanity that, in the commencement of the present century, they opposed the abolition of the slave trade. They urged that there was an annual decrease of two and a half per cent. among the negroes, and that if the same quantity of labor should continue to be exacted as the number of slaves diminished, the loss would be greater every year, and would augment with accelerated rapidity. The unfriendliness of slavery to population was a strong argument in the mouths of slave traders. If the slave trade were abolished, the sugar estates of Jamaica, it was prophesied, would be dismantled within thirty years, and the 130,000 negroes then engaged in the culture of the cane would be utterly extinct! The planters of the day, when they petitioned Parliament, based their grounds for redress on the expense of the slave system which prevented them from competing, without a constant supply of fresh labor, with those colonies and countries in which the African slave trade had not been abolished."

The author, after wandering through a whole chapter of figures, sums up at the last the result of the cost of growing sugar in these islands. Figures *can* sometimes lie. The 3 cents of Cuba is as absurd as the 1.40 cents of Barbadoes—but *ne sutor*, &c.:

ISLANDS.	Pounds of Sugar produced.	Labor force.	Av. of lbs. per laborer.	Cost of each laborer per annum.	Cost of labor per lb. in cents.
Cuba	577,200,000	120,000	4,810	\$144 30	03
Jamaica (slave) . . .	160,000,000	70,000	2,286	100 00	04.37
Jamaica (free) . . .	50,000,000	20,000	2,500	50 00	02
Trinidad	65,000,000	17,000	3,823	66 00	01.72
Barbadoes	68,000,000	22,000	3,090	44 00	01 2-5

The volume concludes by giving thirteen reasons for the decline of Jamaica. We extract the tenth and twelfth. Has there been any decline of population in our Southern States growing out of the "cholera and small-pox," and have the governing classes "shamefully neglected to arrest the decline of the population?" Are not the ravages of the diseases referred to a result of squalid and unprotected freedom? We pause for a reply, though our author and his abolition friends will never condescend to make it:

"10. Because the governing classes have shamefully neglected the welfare of the masses. They have not made the annual decline of population a subject of earnest consideration, nor have they essayed to check it by the adoption of the most ordinary precautions."

"12. Because the laboring force of the island has been decimated by cholera and small-pox. It is supposed that, from these visitations, upward of 30,000 people died."

ART. IX.—THE STUDY OF NATURE AND THE ARTS OF CIVILIZED LIFE.

[The manuscript copy of this interesting paper has been placed in our hands for publication. It is worthy of careful and thoughtful perusal, and was recently read, by invitation, before the Palmetto Lyceum of Charleston. It now appears for the first time in print.—Ed.]

In a field so extensive as that embraced by the subject proposed, it will be easily divined that we shall not be able to touch more than a few of those principal outlines which are so grand in their true proportions as to require rather a literary lifetime for their full delineation and the accurate filling in of their rich details. Yet so important to our mind appear these outlines that, like the latitude and longitude of great cities, it is essential to the concerns of civilization that they be ascertained with the greatest precision possible, not because ignorance in this respect would make a serious difference in the minor concerns of life, but because it would affect the social relations of nations. Exactly in the same way the various questions which regard the civilization and development of people have but a very slight effect—an effect, perhaps, scarcely perceptible upon the individual—and, are, therefore, for the most part, disregarded even by the energetic as subjects of no practical utility, but rather allied to empty speculation, while the evil effects which really accrue to the individual from their neglect are attributed to other causes, and men seek to obviate them by attention to other branches of reform. Nevertheless it is true that the individual is more or less influenced for good or for evil, for knowledge or for ignorance, for progress or for stagnation, for breadth or for narrowness of mind, by the amount of attention paid by the collective intellect of the society in which he lives to these general and apparently speculative questions which do not so much concern the individual man as the individual people, and the individual man as an integral element of that people.

We cannot stop to discuss this point, but must remind him who would hastily deny its truth that, so far as we know, the world was thousands of years old before men understood that the air they breathed was a compound body, and that if the proportion of its elements were disturbed, even in a comparatively slight degree, the death of the human race might immediately result. Yet the man who breathed a thousand years ago was none the less dependent upon this nice balance of oxygen and nitrogen

because he was ignorant of their existence; and so he who knows nothing of the importance of such speculative questions may, nevertheless, be utterly, though unconsciously, dependent upon them for the whole tone and the whole tenor of his every-day life.

There may be, therefore, a connection between the study of nature and the arts of civilized life, whether these be the useful or the æsthetic arts,—a connection which, though not generally recognized, is yet real,—and it may be true that there is no actual opposition between a true science and a true art, notwithstanding the opinion of some poets, and some, too, special men of science, to the contrary. At the same time, this subject of the relation of science and art is so broad, and occupies so much of the field in which our spiritual being is active, that a few words of introduction, and of preliminary survey of that field, are necessary.

It appears to us that the intellectual achievements of man, when carefully analyzed, are *all* capable of classification under two great heads—science and art. And this quality is founded upon what may be termed the physiology of his mind. In fact the constitution and functional working of the spiritual part of man bears a most striking analogy to the physiological economy of his body; and the great law of the correlation of forces is as truly evinced in the soul as in the body, or, to choose a material illustration, as it is in the steam engine. We must remember that no force is created by man, but forces already existing in nature can be converted into other correlated forces. The force which originally converted the inorganic elements of earth, air and water into wood, can be transformed into heat, and this heat can be converted, through the medium of steam, into the mechanical force by which a ponderous machinery is moved, and the mechanical force finally may find a *static* existence in the web and woof of some marvellous fabric of modern art. But, still, in all the complications of such a process no force has been created (man has no power to create), but forces already existing in nature have been converted into their naturally correlated forces, in order to produce certain results inevitable by nature under those conditions.

Now man himself, in a naturalist's point of view, is such a centre of force, and if we would understand his relation to nature we must look upon him as part of nature. There is no such thing in nature as the antagonism, or, perhaps,

to some, the antithesis which is commonly considered to exist between the works of man and nature. *The works of man, or, in other words, his art, are as truly a part of nature* as the architecture of beaver and of bee, of the ant which won the praise of Solomon, or the termite, on whose hill-like domes the massive buffalo can mount as upon a watch tower. Now, as a centre of force, man is subject to the common law of nature. He originates no force—he only converts it. The physical energy by which he accomplishes the dictates of his intellect—nay, a great part of the force of that intellect itself—is directly or indirectly derived from the converted chemical and organic forces in the air which he breathes, the fluids he drinks, the food which he eats. So much air, so much water, so much food, must be consumed, and, in some sense or other, assimilated to produce so much human energy, and, if these be withheld, human energy must infallibly become extinct. It is according to this law of nature that the organic body has the power to obtain for itself the requisite pabulum out of which its own force is to be obtained; it has the power, also, to analyze and assimilate this pabulum, that is, to separate it into its elements and convert the forces which held those elements together into the forms of its own peculiar vital force; and, lastly, this vital or muscular force it can convert again into mechanical force in the productions of manual art. We, then, have four principal parts to the process in the economy of the body—

The prehension of aliment;

The analysis of the aliment;

And its assimilation or the conversion of its forces into corporeal vigor;

Lastly, the reconversion of this organic corporeal force into mere mechanical force in the form of physical labor.

Now if we momentarily divest ourselves of all that has been done to obscure and mystify the operations of the mind, we find the simplest explanation of our mental processes in perfect analogical agreement with the more tangible processes of the corporeal organization.

Let us cast off for a time all such words as reason, imagination, fancy, about whose meaning scarcely two men agree; whose meaning, when they have any, corresponds to, and indicates only artificial, not natural distinctions between the powers of the mind, and whose use, we hesitate not to say, has caused more misunderstanding of the relations of the human intellect to God and the crea-

tion than the teaching of centuries will be able to efface. Let us ask ourselves simply what is that which, in the main, constitutes the work of the intellect?

Why, in the first place, we have the faculty of gaining impressions, of receiving and accumulating them; in other words, we have a perceptible faculty, and this is analogous to the prehensile faculty by which the body is able to procure itself food.

We have, also, the faculty of analyzing our impressions, of converting them into the intellectual products called ideas.

And, next, we have the faculty of recombining these ideas according to natural laws.

Lastly, we have the faculty, by the power of the mind over our material bodies, of reconverting intellectual force into material power, and, by this means, impressing the forms of our thought upon matter, and thus giving a physical expression to our spiritual processes.

Reducing these four heads to two, as we can most naturally and must necessarily do, we find that the two great classes of action in which the intellect engages are analysis, by which it receives, forms and stores up ideas, and synthesis, or the power of putting things together, by which it recombines these analyzed ideas into old or new forms. The first of these results in science, the second in art.

Of course, in speaking of these two faculties of the intellect as distinct, we do not mean to define them as entirely disconnected and independent in their results. We do not mean that science is the result of the analytical power purely and solely, unassisted by the synthetic power, nor do we mean to claim an analogous exclusiveness for the synthetic power in the processes of art; but we do mean that science is the grand result of the analytic element of the mind, assisted by synthetic to a greater or less degree, while art, presupposing the existence of analysis, is the grand result of the synthetic power.

Let us look somewhat more closely into this correlation of science and art. It may be oftentimes hazardous to trust our meaning to the uncertain guardianship of definition; but since we wish to be distinctly understood, rather than to indulge in glittering generalities too vague to be contradicted, we shall run the risk of the definition.

Science, in its true sense, is systematic knowledge deduced from systematic research.

Art, in its wide sense, is the expression of thought through the medium of material forms.

Now, we have all heard a great deal and read a great deal about what is called *drawing inspiration from nature*. And let it not be supposed that this is mere empty metaphor—that it is an unwarrantable ascription of a mythical birth to our human art, as the heathen attributes a Divine origin to the ancestral heroes whom he worships. It is far otherwise: it is in every respect true; and we shall endeavor to show that at the present day its truth can be supported on scientific grounds.

It is probably quite safe to assert that the study, and consequently the knowledge of nature has attained a greater development among men during the latter half of the Christian era than ever it did before—at least within historic periods; and we think, also, that it might be shown that, as science advances, though her province is not that of revealed religion, yet she has been enabled to bring in more and more, greater and greater and more incontestable evidences of the existence of an infinite Creative Intellect; and to show, from her own resources, that the intellect of man is, so to speak, modelled upon that of his Creator, or, in the simply sublime language of the Book, “in the image of God created He him.” We refer to this tribute of science to our holy religion, not because it is necessary to support our creed by proof from nature, nor because we are of those who suppose that Christianity can derive any fresh glory from the comparatively weak light of nature; but because it enables *us* more fully to realise what before, it may be, we only vaguely believed—that there is no disagreement between true science and true religion; none of that opposition and contrast which the evil tendencies of our nature have always endeavored to create between them; but that science herself humbly acknowledges that the God of Revelation is the God of Nature and intellect; and because it is the highest of intellectual pleasures for the student of nature to find everywhere about his path the “*footprints of the Creator*,” and to see in every form of matter the finger of God.

Yes! men of science are now beginning not only to believe but to realize that this illimitable universe—this Kosmos, whose unity is without height or depth, is, in its vast wonders, as in its minutest detail, the *material expression of Creative thought*—and, reverently speaking, is a work of *infinite art*. Revelation has taught us to know God as our Creator, the Judge and Saviour of our souls; while science, treading in much humbler and more terrestrial sphere, is

teaching us to know Him as the omnipotent and omniscient Artist and Architect of the material universe.

The study of nature, therefore, is a study of the material thoughts of God. The student of nature is, in the highest sense of the word, an art student.

Now, in contemplating the works of any human artist, there are necessarily two principal points of interest for us, the one of which is the observance of a system of general principles, and the use of common materials, in which all artists agree; and the other is the presence of some peculiarity in the application of these principles, which is the property of this particular artist, and which in fact constitutes his individuality. The possibility of the existence of such individual distinctions between artists is due to the almost infinite number of the branching channels into which their general principles may be developed, and the endless distinct combinations of their common materials which may be imagined by the mind of man. The possibility, therefore, of artistic idiosyncrasy lies in the nature of things, and the actual manifestation of it is the result of the individual choice or selection of the artist himself, whose finite mind, unable to master and express all the possible combinations of his principles and materials, selects some one branch of thought in preference to other branches, some one channel of expression rather than any other channel, some one mode of combination in preference to other combinations.

No doubt that this selection of a peculiar mode of artistic expression by each artist is not, in any case, a wholly free exercise of will. One cannot be a Raphael by being merely willing to be so. The powers of a Raphael must be given by the God of whose artistic work Raphael himself was an instance;—nor could Raphael himself have developed his powers upon a desert and uninhabited island. Yet these restrictions of the sphere of the artist's free choice and selection are only restrictions; they are not exclusions; they do not so fetter his will as actually to render it motionless; they only limit its sphere; but in that sphere, so limited, it finds its most active exercise.

The power of selection, however, does not confine itself to distinguishing between the styles of different artists, but the traces of its exercise may be found in the particular exercise of the peculiar style of each artist, as actually evinced by himself in his executed works. Taking as premises the individual peculiarities of any artist, we do not

find that he has carried them out to all their possible conclusions. We discover, on reflection, that many other combinations might have been made on the same principles with the materials, and thus the individuality of the artist becomes evinced by his exercise of selection or choice, not only in his style or manner, but in the actual works which are the expressions and illustrations of that style and manner. Thus Haydn, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Rossini and Bellini are each distinguished from the other by his peculiar manner or style of employing the principles of melody and harmony for the expression of his musical thoughts. But, if we examine the works of any one of them, we find that he has not exhausted all the possible illustrations of his style which might have been thought of, but that he has exercised a selection of subjects by which it is still possible, for instance, that a work may be composed in the style of Handel which shall yet differ from every composition which Handel left as much as these compositions differ from each other.

Now if these things be granted as true, it is evident that we have, in the works of every artist, not only evidence of thought, but an evidence of the individual will of the artist—an evidence of his power to select one subject and to reject another, and this constitutes his artistic personality.

Let us now turn to nature, the material universe, the heavens and the earth, and all that in them is. I have said—and with reverence I repeat it—that these are the works of God, in which we contemplate Him as the infinite and omnipotent Artist—or, as the inspired poet of the Psalms has expressed it—these are “His handiwork.” This handiwork is to man the field of physical science, and the devotees of those sciences are thus made pilgrims to the shrine of art in the highest sense of which those words are capable. Now what evidence has science discovered in her prolonged study of these “material expressions of thought?” What evidence has she discovered of the individuality, the personality of the artist from whom they emanate? In short, can she show any reason for believing Him to be one God, and that He is not an abstraction but a personal God.

It is evident that the unity of the Godhead, if evinced at all, would be so in the unity of the plan of creation. And, therefore, if this plan be an unit, it will be of itself sufficient evidence of the Divine unity. And here I shall

not surely need to detail all the evidence which science has been accumulating for centuries as to the unity of the Kosmos, the harmonious working together of all these parts of the plan, which has given rise to the lofty dream of the music of the spheres. The dictum of the philosopher and verse of the poet have each conspired to express in human language this central truth, and nothing is left to the student of science in our day but the opportunity of exhibiting in a clear light those particular points of view from which the unity of the creation can be more clearly perceived.

One of these points was gained for us by Sir Isaac Newton and established by Laplace and Herschel. The numerous distinguished mathematicians who have followed them, by proving that the law of gravity is universal, by showing that not only the parts of our own system, but that the lunar and multiple stars, and, so far as observation suffices, the whole system of galaxies, whose immensity makes the heart ache and the intellect of man feel weak as that of a child in their contemplation, by showing that these bodies and groups of bodies are held together by the same common law, whose operation in one case furnishes the clue to the calculation of all its possible effects—until we have reached that point that astronomers of the nineteenth century, as our readers doubtless know, can and have announced from calculation the existence of a planet, and that this announcement almost immediately received its verification by discovery with the telescope. Now, though those calculations have since been shown to have been deficient in comprehensiveness, so that the actual discovery of the planet was due no less to what would be, by most men, considered a happy coincidence, but what, by the Christian, is looked upon as an arrangement of Providence, than to calculation, yet, the calculations which directed attention to the existence of the disturbing body were based upon the faith of the universality of this law of gravity, at least so far as the solar system is concerned.

Another point from which this unity can be perceived commands a different prospect, and one concerning phenomena nearer to us, because so abundantly evinced in earthly phenomena. I mean that unity which has of late years been proved to exist between the different forms of force—by the researches of Ohm, Groves, Joule, Thomson and Faraday. It has been shown that various as are the dynamical forms of heat, light, electricity, magnetism and

mechanical force, that these are only special modifications of one force, and that they can be converted and recon-verted one into the other, so that their common measures have been actually ascertained with considerable accuracy. Now, though several of these forces are positively known to exist only on the earth, and although, on that account, we have no accessible means of proving their existence in other spheres, yet their unity on the earth contributes to our knowledge of the unity of the Kosmocal idea, by showing that here, where alone they have been subjected to examination, the unity exists, and that, therefore, while there is no rational ground for disbelieving their existence elsewhere, a belief in their unity will naturally follow the belief in their existence, whenever that belief is well grounded. Lastly, the moral probability of their unity everywhere is rendered almost infinite by the fact of the existence of light in nearly all heavenly bodies—and from the fact that this light has properties nearly the same in all respects as that which results on the surface of the earth from conversion of one force into another.

Again: it was found, years ago, by Schimper and Braun, two German botanists, that the spiral arrangement of the leaves in plants could be expressed by fractional formulæ, which, when arranged according to their relative magnitudes, constitute a regular series, as follows:

$$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{2}{5}, \frac{3}{8}, \frac{5}{13}, \frac{8}{21}, \frac{13}{34}, \text{ \&c.}$$

Now, Pierce has shown that the periods of revolution of the various planets, beginning with Neptune and proceeding inwards, are related to each other in ratios which may be expressed by the same series of fractions; that is, that if Neptune's period of revolution round the sun be regarded as unity, then that of Uranus will be related to it as $\frac{1}{2}$, that of Saturn to Uranus $\frac{1}{3}$, and those of Saturn, Jupiter—asteroids—and Mars, Earth, Venus and Mercury as the remaining fractions of the series; the Earth's period being expressed by the fraction $\frac{8}{21}$. Thus, the same order of fractions which expresses the number of revolutions made by a given row of leaves around the axis of a plant before bringing another leaf immediately over that from which we started, the same order of fractions expresses the relations of the revolutions of the planets about the sun.

Now, though there are other series of fractions evinced in the spiral arrangements of plants and animals, yet that which we have given is, by far, the most common; it is, in fact, nearly universal among plants. Had, therefore, an-

other and a different series been obtained from the periods of the planets, it would most certainly not have shown a want of unity in the creation, but the actual existence of the same series in plant and planet, is all the more remarkable to us on that account, because, so far as we know, it is not a necessity of the general plan, but simply a coincidence exhibiting the oneness of the thought which conceived and of the hand which executed the system of plants and the system of planets.

But there is still another point of view from which we can take even a wider survey of the creation, and form an even grander and more satisfactory conception of the unity which pervades its almost infinite diversity, that, unfortunately, has received only a few hasty glances from men of research. It is this: that throughout the whole domain of nature one law of development reigns supreme.

If we regard, as we have done, all material bodies as physical expressions of the Creator's thoughts, then the histories of the changes which those bodies undergo are *histories of thoughts*. When such a body passes through a series of changes in which a regular plan is discernible, we call that series a *development*. Now, we believe it to be demonstrable, that so far as we are acquainted with the physical expressions of the thoughts of God, and with their changes, they are all subject to a law of development which may be expressed as follows:

Development proceeds by the specialization of a synthetic and more or less homogeneous whole into parts more and more differing from each other, but, at the same time, more or less interdependent.

Imperfectly as this formulary expresses the action of this law, it may nevertheless serve to impart some conception of it to those disposed to think. Let us endeavor to illustrate it. Perhaps the best illustration we can choose will be the development of the plant—a choice to which we are also inclined by the fact that the development of animals and plants furnished the first clue to the existence of such a law as that under consideration.

All plants, and, indeed, all animals, are composed of minute elementary bodies called cells. These cells are hollow bags or vesicles of delicate membrane, closed on all sides, and containing usually a large amount of fluid. Their first form, and often their permanent form, is that of a more or less perfect sphere. In the fluid contained by a cell already existing, observers have been enabled

to watch the formation of new cells; and the following are the phases which this formation exhibits: First, the fluid contained in the parent cell is perfectly homogeneous; that is, it is of the same appearance, and, as far as our means can ascertain, of the same constitution in every part. It is also synthetic, for it is not composed of one single body only, but may be shown to be composed of certain complex compounds which contain all the elements necessary for the structure of the future cell which is to arise from this fluid. In this organic fluid, therefore, we have the homogeneous and synthetic base from which, as from a starting point, the development is to begin. The fluid at an early stage is discovered to be granular, and the granules of which it is composed are seen to be everywhere alike; but shortly the first specialization takes place, and is evinced to human sense by the collection and aggregation of a portion of the granules into a mass distinctly separated from the rest. Next in the wonderful series of changes, this mass, whose form is more or less globular, is discovered to be surrounded by a distinct membrane or cell-wall, and shortly another such wall is discovered to have been specialized—that is, separated from the fluid contents of the young cell, and now occupies a position between the external wall and the internal fluid contents. But this is not all the specialization which actually takes place, for nearly always a specialization of the central portion of the fluid contents is evinced at the same time, nay, often when yet the external wall is not discernable. By this act the central portion of the cell contents is separated from that which surrounds it, and soon by a further act of specialization becomes itself surrounded by a membrane of its own. This little cell, so formed within the first, is called a *nucleus*, and the process does not even stop here, but often another such nucleus is formed within this nucleus, and is then known to physiologists as the *nucleolus*. There are sometimes even greater complications, all the result of the same specializing process; but these are sufficient to show how a complicated body arises in nature, by specialization, from a homogeneous and synthetic one. But now this cell, so small as to require a microscope to perceive it, may grow into a tree. And how does it do so? We reply that it does so by still obeying the great law of development by specialization; but in that case the process assumes a new aspect. The complex interior, the result of the first phasis of specialization, becomes much modified. The nucleus disap-

pears, and the whole interior becomes filled with small cells, like a multitude of nuclei, all resembling each other so closely that we might well call this stage also a homogeneous one, though in a different sense from that in which we termed the first fluid stage homogeneous. And the difference consists in the fact that here a new and a higher phase of development is to be inaugurated, and that therefore the homogeneity from which it starts is of a different and a higher order. At the same time the specializing tendency manifests itself in a strictly new direction. Hitherto all the results of this tendency have been in the formation of layers concentric with each other and with the cell, but now, in addition to the concentric tendency, we have one in the direction of rays proceeding from the centre toward the surface. This first exhibits itself in two directions opposite to each other, and in no other; so that, growing in these two opposite directions, the cell becomes elongate and no longer truly globular. Soon the opposite ends, so formed, begin to be unlike each other—that is, a special character is given to each which the other does not possess; so that, while one continues single, in a large number of plants, the other becomes double. This difference, so introduced, may seem very small indeed to one who does not know what is to follow. But it will assume its real proportions as soon as we understand what is the truth—that the single end grows downward and forms the root of the young plant, while the double extremity grows upward and becomes a leafy stem. Soon after this phase of the development is reached, both extremities of the young plant increase and branch on all sides; and in this branching, if it be attentively considered, we will discover the evidence of the continued action of specialization acting in a centrifugal or radial manner.

We will add a single other illustration of a widely different kind, and this one we have chosen because it exhibits the same law of development by specialization, acting upon an order of things so different that the forms which result are wholly diverse from that of the fully developed tree or the many-limbed animal; while, in spite of the great differences between the resulting forms, the same words which express the law for the plant or animal, will express it equally for the subject of the illustration to which we now proceed. That subject is the earth upon which we live. We need not recall to the minds of enlightened readers that the planet which is allotted to man has been shown by geolo-

gists to have undergone, in the course of æons of existence, changes of the most extensive kind. But it is, perhaps, not so well known that these changes are not the result of the haphazard action of accidental causes, but are really an orderly succession of phases, such as constitute a regular development.

It was shown by the illustrious mathematician, Laplace, more than fifty years ago, that, upon physical principles, the most natural, and, in fact, the only reasonable way to account for the present condition of the solar system, was by supposing that, originally, the planets, their satellites, and the sun, were not distinct bodies as at present, but constituted a single vast nebula, that is, a vapor-like body, of which the part which is now the sun was merely the central portion; that this nebula, then slowly revolving about its centre of gravity, and in a condition of intense heat, was subjected to a process of cooling. It is known that the cooling of matter produces its contraction, that is, a gradual condensation of its particles within a smaller space. In a vaporous body, so revolving, this condensation would have first resulted in the formation of rings revolving around the central portion. Next, as the cooling progressed, the rings themselves would have had a tendency to break up into many parts, or, if any cause had acted to prevent this, they would have been so condensed as to lose their annular form, and to assume, each of them, that of a globe or spheroidal mass revolving about its own axis. Such a globe would have presented the aspect of what we now call a planet; and, had any portion of the original been early detached from its general mass, and so far separated as to render the force of gravity small enough, such portion would have formed a smaller globe revolving about the greater, and would present those phenomena which are now exhibited by our own moon and the satellites of the other planets. Nay, even the rings of Saturn can be accounted for in this manner, and, so far as we know, in this manner only, while the host of asteroids which circulate between the orbits of Jupiter and Mars present an instance of the realization of that other possibility which we have just referred to, by which the original nebulous ring revolving about the sun, instead of forming a single large planetary body, with or without attendant satellites, may have been early broken up into a large number of small planets, each pursuing its own path about the sun.

It is a fact, which we may be pardoned for alluding to

because of its importance to our present purpose, that Laplace, and, indeed, all the scientific world of his day, were ignorant of the law of development as exhibited in animal and vegetable life—at least they had no such knowledge of it as has since enabled Von Baer to generalize its phenomena in words differing but little from those in which we have expressed the general law of development by specialization. Yet, reasoning as he did upon purely physical and mathematical principles, he has deduced a cosmogony which, in all respects, agrees with that law, and his ignorance in this case only enhances the probability that his result is the true one, for when we reach the same conclusion by two different paths the probability of its correctness is not only doubled, it is quadrupled; and, when to this it is added that physicists and astronomers still find the hypothesis of Laplace to account for a greater number of phenomena in a simpler manner than any other hypothesis, we see still greater reason for accepting it; while, as Dr. Dawson, of Canada, has shown in his excellent and suggestive work entitled “Archai,” the text of our sacred Scriptures seems plainly to indicate such a cosmogony as Laplace imagined on purely physical grounds; and, to him who accepts those Scriptures as inspired, this agreement is no small addition to his disposition to accept it as true.

In the early phases attributed to our solar system by this very probable hypothesis, occur the following remarkable points of coincidence with what should be expected according to the law of development by specialization. The primeval, slowly revolving, nebulous mass, is the synthetic and comparatively homogeneous basis or starting point from which the development begins. It is synthetic because it contains the possibility of the sun and all his attendant orbs; it is homogeneous in a comparative sense, for though its constitution may have been not *absolutely* the same in every part, yet, in a modified sense, it was the same in every part, that is, it was everywhere nebulous or cloud-like. The developing, that is, the cooling force, first specialized the nebular mass into a central orb, surrounded by detached rings of matter, perhaps partly in a fluid condition, and these gradually condensed themselves into the planets, differing from each other in relative size, in appearance, in distance from the sun, density and many other features, so that no two of them are exactly alike—each of them has special characteristics imparted to it by the mode of development in which it arose, namely, development by specialization.

Now, the earth was one of these planets, and when first the massive ring which filled the whole round of her present orbit concentrated itself into a spheroidal embryo planet traversing the same orbit, that planet could not have been like our present earth, with its dry land, its oceans, mountains and rivers, its clear sky and genial showers. Its central portion was, in all probability, a vast molten mass of intense heat, upon whose burning bosom no waters could rest; but, instead of this, all the inorganic substances which are fluid in the present condition of our earth must have been then in a state of steam or vapor, which, like a dense and ever-moving atmosphere, surrounded the incandescent ball, heaving and billowing like an ocean of clouds, such as is seen by the hardy aeronaut when he hangs between heaven and earth; and such a state of things may (as has been suggested by Prof. Kirkwood) account for the present appearances of the great planet Jupiter. Accordingly, there must have been a time when the earth consisted of two such parts—a fluid or molten nucleus, and a vaporous envelope surrounding it; this degree of development having been produced, perhaps, at the same time that it was taking on the spherical form. Geology teaches us the rest; it teaches us that the present dry land has been specialized from the molten mass by cooling; that, by the same developing process, the synthetic vapor whose volume surrounded the central ball was gradually specialized into water, which is a fluid, and air, which is a gas. It teaches us that, in all probability, these primeval waters surrounded the earth as an unbroken ocean, but that gradually very low islands were thrust up by a force acting from far within, upon special points of the solid crust, and at last, as the cooling continued, and perhaps by the unequal cooling of the two sides, the waters were gathered together mainly on that side of the earth occupied by the Pacific Ocean, while on the other, which is our own side, the grand continents appeared, and all their varied surfaces and majestic mountains were uncovered to the sun. The earth was at last partly emancipated from the dominion of ocean, and the life of the land was called forth in all the beauty of air-breathing animal and vegetable forms.

Here, then, in this history of the earth, as in the preceding story of the cell, we see the continued operation of the law of development by specialization, for it begins as a comparatively homogeneous and synthetic nebulous mass, first specialized into a fluid nucleus and a vaporous envel-

ope. Then this is specialized into a solid crust and fluid interior, containing again, perhaps, a solid nucleus, while the vaporous envelope was developed by specialization into universal ocean and atmosphere. To crown all, we see the relations between the solid crust and the overwhelming waters changed by the specializing action of internal and external causes, which create a differentiation of the earth's surface into land and water hemispheres. Thus, the earth, under the influence of development, has passed from the condition of a ball, whose surface was everywhere the same, into a spheroidal planet, having northern and southern, eastern and western land and water hemispheres, just as a perfect animal has an anterior and posterior extremity, a right and left side, and an upper and lower surface.

In this sketch of the development of the cell and that of the earth, we have been able to present only some few leading points in which the unity of the law of development manifests itself. Did space permit, we could show a multitude of subjects and details of subjects in whose history this identical law of development is plainly evinced. The history of the ideas expressed in organic life is one continual illustration of it. And not only in the planetary system are its results visible, but they shine forth, also, to us from the abysmal depths of space in the faint and cumulate light of those mysterious nebulae whose nature even yet is not perfectly understood.

We have already shown the application of this law to the development of civilization in four articles published three years ago in Russell's Magazine—"A few Thoughts on Southern Civilization." Did space admit, we could also show that it is the governing principle in the development of language and in the history of every art—nay, more that the development of a musical idea, and, indeed, of every artistic idea, is a development by specialization.

And, lastly, were we only slightly to change the point of view we could demonstrate, by an overwhelming series of historical facts, that the High and Lofty One who inhabiteth eternity, not only moulds the material universe according to this law of development, but even overrules the workings of political systems and brings them into subjection to its dictates; for, in the intellectual as in the material world, development proceeds by the specialization of a synthetic and comparatively homogeneous whole into parts more and more differentiate, but, at the same time, more interdependent.

The womb of this solemn present is pregnant with events which demonstrate the truth of what we have just said, and, so apposite is the illustration, that we may be pardoned for dwelling a few moments upon its details.

The great Confederate Republic, founded by our forefathers, is about to break up into two or more confederacies, is on the point of reversing that motto—*E Pluribus Unum*—which most logically accompanied it into the world, and to substitute for it, *Ex Uno Plures*; and this exchange is the exchange which takes place under some form or other for every developing body. The seed itself is formed by the combination of two elements, and its motto might then be made *E Pluribus Unum*; but it afterward specializes itself into a multitude of different parts, and, perhaps, spontaneously breaks up in several distinct plants; its motto, then, would be that which we are about to illustrate—*Ex Uno Plures*.

Yes, the peaceable separation of this Union will be a convulsion, it is true, but, like those vast convulsions of geological time, it will be a convulsion of development—a pang and throe of the birth-time of great nations which are yet to be—a grand and majestic step in advance. Gentlemen, who have made themselves prominent in this matter, have most unwisely called it a *revolution*. If it be a revolution, then are the admonitions of those who oppose it deeply to be pondered; but if it be what we contend upon scientific grounds it is, that is, a development, then it is no longer a revolution. And yet so little is the great movement understood that everywhere around, from pulpit and from rostrum, at indoor and at outdoor meetings, we hear from the lips of “the leaders of the people” this egregious and injurious misnomer, demonstrating an ignorance of the very conditions of the great problem before us. So far as we know, there has been but one voice lifted in public against this monstrous blunder, and that was in an anonymous pamphlet published in 1851—ten years ago—when the immediate secessionists were restrained by those whose labors, united with theirs, have since gradually brought about the present unanimity in the Southern States. In this pamphlet is propounded the following question: “Is the mission of the United States of America to be accomplished by the perpetuation of this present Union?” And the answer which it furnishes is, that our mission can only be accomplished by our separation into two or more distinct confederate republics; that the dissolution of this Union

will not be a step backward, but a great movement onward in the work of republicanizing the world—not a disorganizing revolution, but an organized and organizing development.

"The dissolution of this Union," says the author, "we believe to be our duty, not only to ourselves, and for ourselves, but for the great interests of the whole human family—for the final development of our republican experiment—the end and consummation of our 'lofty mission.'" "If our mission be to republicanize the world, it must be by converting other nations from their present form of government, or by absorbing and merging all others into this Union." He then shows that many who profess to be anxious for the preservation of this present Union for the sake of liberty, really desire to see erected a great colossal power, whose prospective splendor and magnificence captivate their imaginations. "Go to," say they; "let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the earth." Not with brick and slime upon a plain, but with powerful States for their materials, upon a whole continent as a base, they would build a tower of human strength and pride whose head may reach unto heaven, its shadow cover the earth, and before which the world must do homage. But the sentence will again go forth: "Behold the people is one, and they have all one language, and this thing they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to! let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. It has already gone forth, and the restlessness of the people, both North and South, cannot be restrained from shaking the foundations of such a structure until it topples down." Thus the author contends that it is contrary to God's will that one nation should absorb the earth—or, as we should express it, in connection with our present argument, such a supposition is contrary to God's law of development, by which out of one organized body many must be evolved, either as parts or as distinct individuals. In support of which, our author continues: "Nor are we terrified by the distant prospect, so distressing to some men, that we should be ultimately split into many different confederacies. The portion of the earth we occupy is sufficient for the formation and support of many nations of size and power to be self-sustaining." "We therefore look forward with hope

and pleasant anticipation to the time when these United States shall have been peacefully resolved into two great nations, even at the hazard of their ultimate resolution, in the far future, into many—as their interests and their increased population may direct them, in wisdom, under God's good providence; which we trust will also enable them to preserve and improve their republicanism, and also to combine, by intimate alliance, in a truly glorious American system of nations, to insure peace among themselves, and secure perfect safety from all other adversaries."

"Then would the world see indeed the true value of our republicanism, and our present Union be revered as the mother of nations." "This we regard as the final development of our political principles, the great design and end of our 'lofty mission,' more high and holy than the spread of this Union to the universal domination of the globe."

"For if our mission be to spread 'republicanism' among all people, then is our mission incomplete until we have exhibited it in this aspect to the world." And, lastly, men "may at first, perhaps, see nothing but crudities or false analogies in our views, yet ultimately come with us to the conclusion that the intimations of God's providence toward us are that He will dissolve this present Union, not in *frustration* but in *furtherance* of our great mission."

Now, if this be the course of our development, then is it in perfect harmony with all other great developments in nature, proceeding as they do by a progress in specialization. First, for the synthetic and homogeneous basis of this development, we have the original thirteen States—homogeneous, because their social structure, their public sentiment, and, finally, their forms of government were one throughout, from Maine to Georgia—synthetic, because in the midst of this homogeneousness, there existed the latent seeds of all that diversity which has since appeared. And what has the development done? First, it has greatly enlarged the extent of the republic by the multiplication of States, which have been unceasingly thrown off as a tree develops its buds and phytoms, each beginning as a dependency and at last specializing itself into a sovereign State. And while this numerical or multiplicative specialization was in progress, another manifestation of the same principle was evincing itself through the length and breadth of the confederacy. Public opinion and social structure, originally one, has gradually been specialized, not only into different but into opposite forms; a polarization, in fact, has

taken place, whose results have actually, by a curious coincidence, been designated, like the opposite poles of the earth, the North and the South. Lastly, this opposition is become organic, and a fearful struggle has been inaugurated between the two polar forms of society, to decide which shall shape the future of the confederacy. And now we see the result: the two diverging forms can no longer remain as mere parts—each being a system in itself, must separate from the other.

Thus, the development of the Confederate Republic of the United States has proceeded, by specialization, to the production of two distinct republican people; and, as the author we have so largely quoted contends, the development may, and in all probability will, go on until many Republican Confederacies have been developed from the original Union, and a system of American Republics shall have spread over this great continent.

Let us, then, be of good courage. The work in which we are now engaged is not, as Henry Clay hastily supposed, a strife against nature; it is the very opposite; it is a development consistent, even in its details, with the one grand law of development which characterizes all the Creator's ideas as expressed in nature, and those who oppose it will do so at their peril, for it is they, and not we, who are fighting against nature.

We have, as clearly as can be done in so brief a space, shown the application of the law of development, by specialization, to the three great cycles of the Kosmos, namely: the organic, the inorganic and the intellectual. We have only been able, it is true, to adduce one example in each of these cycles, but the law is simple and the application easy, when we have once seen it applied; for, wherever we turn in nature, some developmental process is visible, and, in truth, we find that there is no such thing as rest; "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together;" everywhere development is in progress, and everywhere the law of development is, *mutatis mutandis*, reducible to the single formula we have given.

In these universal principles, then, such as the law of gravity and the law of development, we locate the unity of the Kosmos, and here science discerns the unity of the Creator. In what, then, does she discover his personality? This is a far more difficult point to elucidate, for the subject naturally demands a consideration of details, and these

we can derive from a comparatively narrow set of facts only; yet, in this circle, so far as man has been able to extend it, there is no failure at any point in the evidence.

The whole animal kingdom is divided into four great branches, each of which has a fundamental type or pattern upon which its representatives are constructed. In the earliest remains of animals which have come down to us, we find, then, four types already existing; and, from that time, they are never lost, but continually go on through an artistic development by which they are continually changing, though never losing their typical individuality. Their successive changes are exhibited in the differing forms which represent them through the successive geological periods. Now, there are hundreds of thousands of such differing forms known to naturalists, and yet the possible variations which could be conceived by man for those types are, by no means, exhausted in nature; nay, more than this, the peculiar forms of type-variation which he turns up from the earth, or chisels out from the rock, in nine cases out of ten possess, in addition to those characters which he expected, certain others which he did not necessarily and logically expect. Thus, as Agassiz and Owen, two of the greatest palæontologists of this or any age, have shown, the Creator has not formed animals according to a blind necessity, but has exhibited a deliberate and discerning choice; has realized one form and rejected another equally possible, and has often impressed upon the form He has chosen some other characters besides those we were led to expect. Now, it will be remembered that selection and choice, in the human artist, is that which exhibits his personality; and so it is in the Infinite Prototype of all art. The evidence that He exerted selection and choice among the possibilities which He himself had created, is also unmistakeable evidence of this personality.

It is evident that a precisely similar argument might be deduced from the various forms and combinations of the heavenly bodies. We will assume it proven that the Kosmos can only be understood as a stupendous work of art—the unapproachable master-piece and centre of all art—the work of the one and the personal God.

If this be so, it must be evident to all that he who understandingly studies nature is an art student. It matters not to which of the great branches of art—the useful or the beautiful—he wishes to devote himself, he will find all the

forces, the means and the principles of their application there. There will be found the most pregnant hints for success in his future efforts—there will he find models for imitation, whose riches of detail he can never exhaust; and there he will find the true maxims of the human art of his progenitors verified and illustrated—the false refuted, and a thousand new views of the relations of use and beauty opening in endless vistas before him. To seek artistic inspiration in nature, therefore, is no empty occupation; it is no metaphorical apology for hours of idleness. It is an earnest, philosophical labor, and, if rightly understood, is nearly connected with the religious part of our spiritual being. But it must be understood as great inventors, great poets, great musicians, great architects and painters, and sculptors, have understood it. Some men of great abilities have, we cannot deny, effected this study in some degree without conscious effort, but only in some degree; and he who would construct an art worthy of that knowledge of nature which, at the present day, we possess, must devote the greater part of his energies to the study.

The artists of the Middle Ages were the scientific men of their day. Look at Leonardo D'Vinci—one whom we, at least, cannot think of without doing him a kind of mental homage. Any one who reads his "Art of Painting" will see the secret of his success fully exposed. It was this: he studied that art which was to be seen in nature—in other words, he was a naturalist; and he acknowledged no other fountain-head of inspiration than nature herself. He, indeed, allowed and even advised the study of the works of human artists, but he expressly forbids their imitation. He would have the young artist use the works of his fellow men as an original thinker and writer uses the books of other men—as things which show what other men have done, and enable him to take up the work where they left it. Such a study also impresses many things which may not have struck him at first in nature, by showing them to him fully appreciated in the works of others; while the faults which he there observes, warn him of irrational observation of nature, and false results in art.

So fully set against imitation of human art is the illustrious D'Vinci, that he directs against it one of his most pointed aphorisms. "One painter," says he, "ought never to imitate the manner of any other; because, in that case, he cannot be called the child of nature, but the grandchild. It is always best," he continues, "to have recourse to na-

ture, which is replete with such abundance of objects, than to the productions of other masters who learnt everything from her."

We have already, on former occasions, presented the accumulated and incontestible proof that civilization is an intellectual phenomenon, that it is, in fact, the progressive development of a people's collective intellect. We have also endeavored to show that science and art were in reality the two great channels in which this development takes place. Now, this classification of intellectual pursuits, as we all know, is the old one, and if we are right in what we have said of analysis and synthesis in the earlier part of this paper, it is the only natural classification.

We all know that science, at the present day, is derived from the study of nature and of man, who, of course, in his terrestrial relations, must be regarded as a part of nature. All human art worthy of the name, must be founded upon this systematic study of nature. The truth of this assertion in the case of the useful or economical arts we need not attempt to establish, for it is everywhere known that it is from the experimental study of nature that we have elucidated all those principles which have enabled us to construct that almost living thing—the steam engine—which has enabled us to solve nearly all the problems, and overcome nearly all the difficulties which have obstructed the progress of the agricultural, the metallurgic, the maritime, the medicinal, the mechanical, the chemical, the dynamical arts of modern life. Commerce, the material life of modern nations, is utterly dependent upon the study of nature, as, for instance, has been recently shown by Lieutenant Maury, who, by the study of the physical geography of the sea, has placed commercial intercourse among nations upon a new footing.

The passage we have just quoted from the great D'Vinci, supported as it might be by a host of other artists whose pursuits embrace all forms of the beautiful, would, of itself, be ample testimony to the necessity of the study of nature to the successful cultivation of the fine arts. And we have added what we hope is scientific proof that nature itself is a work of art, in which all the treasures of the beautiful and the sublime are stored, and that he who studies nature is an art student in the highest sense of the word. As inexhaustible as is nature, as diversified as are her materials, so inexhaustible and so diversified are the manifold channels and forms of art, whose possibility she

discovers to those who diligently seek her. And we hazard nothing by asserting that no people can rise to greatness in the æsthetic arts who draw not their inspiration from nature and from nature only.

Now, we ask, do we, as a people, know this, and knowing it, have we obeyed it as a law? Have we sought artistic inspiration at the fountain head? Have we not drawn waters from the broken cisterns of ancient art, or from modern cisterns hewn by human hands? Have we not almost universally confined ourselves to the imitation, even the servile imitation, of European art? By so doing, we have neglected nature, and set up the works of human masters in her stead, thereby choosing for our instructors mere men, who ought never to be more to us than counsellors, it is true, but still only counsellors. Have not our poets, for the most part, merely echoed the poets of England and Germany? Have not our architects considered it a chief excellence to adhere strictly to the rules prescribed by the architects of the old world? Have not our painters and sculptors made their studies not from nature, but in the works of German, or French, or Italian artists? Is it not, indeed, the first thing done for every young man who discovers genius as a sculptor or painter, to "send him to Europe," as we say?

Now, what is the result of this system? It is, as every one may see for himself, that the artists of America have no other title to the name of American artists than that in America they were born. For their whole system of education, as artists, is European, or, as we might term it, their artistic birthplace is Europe; so that even where they have been men of genius, drawing their materials from nature, it has been from European nature, not from those equally grand displays of God's art which may be seen in the American world. In short, we must say that whether it be poetry, or music, or architecture, or sculpture, or painting, concerning which we make the inquiry, America has, as yet, no fine art of her own which is worthy of the name; such art as she does possess is as yet only a sickly branch of the fine arts of Europe.

The reason is plain. They are, as old Leonardo would have said, not the children of nature, but the grandchildren. They have not been striving to study out the creative and divine art in the nature amid whose beauteous manifestations they were born; but have chosen rather to study the works of those who drew their inspiration from aspects of

nature not American, and thus have made themselves not original interpreters, as great artists should be, but only dealers at second-hand. And where this has not been the case—where, on the contrary, they have been original—they have been made by their education European artists. Hence it is a truth that America, though she has solved and is solving some of the greatest of political problems in the largest spirit; though she is mistress of the useful arts and an intellectual power, is as yet without any form of fine arts which she can justly call her own.

To the people of South Carolina, native or adopted citizens! need we state in set phrases and measured words what is the application of this grand subject? The portal of a new epoch in history is open before us; we are about to pass through it; another month and the dawn of the new year may find us already on the other side, and the gateway barred forever behind us. We solemnly trust it will be trebly barred; and what man is he amongst us who is not girded and ready to maintain with his life, if necessary, the ground we shall then have taken. The terse and elegant old saw of the Latin poet which we have inscribed upon the arms of our State is, *Animis opibusque parati*, and we all know what it means. It means that we will be prepared for the great future, not in works only, but in mind. That we will exercise not our hands only to resist oppression and maintain our independence, but our minds also to brood over and develop the seeds of a new and original civilization, which have hitherto striven in vain to burst through their native soil; because the strength and fatness of that soil has been drawn off to promote the growth of our more fortunate enemies. We are about to use the strong arm of our inalienable rights to remove those seeds to a new position, where they will no more be shut from the warm light, and where the insidious roots of a treacherous policy will no longer creep through underground channels to exhaust the rich nourishment that is their's by nature. We are about to declare to all mankind that we will not be mere *provincials* in the political world. Then, in the name of every dear and sacred tie which binds us to each other and to our State, let us also resolve that we will not be *provincials* in the world of intellect and of civilization. Let us study out this question. There are many delusive hopes before us; there is but one which can be trusted. There are a thousand paths to lead us astray; there is but one to lead us to that consummation

so devoutly to be wished. And that path is narrow; to travel it must be for a season arduous and self-denying; but we sincerely believe the final result will be as certain as it must be glorious.

We have never before so earnestly desired the gift of oratory as we do now; the capacity to use words that would grave as with an iron pen these two unalterable truths upon the mind:

1. That a slave State never can be a centre of that form of civilization which now flourishes in Europe and at the North.

2. That if we would have a civilization, it must grow out of a system of HOME EDUCATION, based upon our social structure, and drawing its materials from the semi-tropical nature which surrounds us.

Every true civilization is a native growth; a foreign civilization grafted upon us will inevitably obstruct our development and keep us perpetually provincials. The study of our social system has already placed us far in advance of the world on the great problem of the co-ordination of the races—it has laid the foundation of the great science of comparative psychology.

And why? It is because this is a study in which we have followed no master, but have obtained our knowledge from the study of nature herself, and of the Book of the Revelation of Nature's God. It is the only thing in which we are original, and, therefore, the only thing in which we are intellectually great. And yet, could we only induce ourselves to go to nature for inspiration in art, we should not be disappointed.

The aspects of nature by which we are surrounded are unsurpassed in loveliness and variety, in beauty and in riches. Mountains of great height sink down through gentle undulations into broad plains, in which the abundant overflow of mighty rivers fertilizes the inmost recesses of our great savannas; while not far, the eternal ocean breaks in kindly murmurs upon a shore whose thousand bays and inlets invite to us the commerce of the world. Our climate is that in which all the sciences and all the arts of civilization have had their origin; for in it nature combines her most useful and her most pleasing characteristics. The wheat of the temperate zone here meets the rice of the tropics; the palm tree uplifts its queenly height amid the powerful and outspreading arms of the oak; here the pine tree yields its resin side by side with the unsurpassed mag-

nolia; here the apple tree and the orange tree cast their fruit upon the same ground together; here the vine and the olive, and the fig tree, and the pomegranate bring forth their fruit in due season; here the roses bloom for ever; and lastly, here King Cotton has fixed his royal throne, and all the world must pay him tribute.

There is but one course for us then to pursue. We must be true to our social institutions and to the nature in which we are placed. We must build up a system of *home education*. And we must know that all time and all money spent upon foreign instruction is worse than lost—it is the egg of an exotic not adapted to our climate. At the best, it cannot profit us, and it may hatch out into a viper.

For the beautiful as well as the useful, let us go to the nature which surrounds us, and our art shall be as different from the European as the song of our own many-throated mocking bird is from the nightingale's. Ay, let the nightingale sing in the gardens of that ancient civilization, and be echoed in the songs of trans-Atlantic bards; but let our grand old forests overflow, by night and by day, with that exhaustless and labyrinthine stream of melody which flows from the full memory and the full heart of the prince of warblers—the philosopher and critic of all feathered musicians—who is himself a student of nature, always observing and culling out everything that is beautiful and singular in the world of sound about him, and weaving them together in that endless chain of melody whose lights and shadows, whose well-timed contrasts and endless diversity are the wonder and admiration of every discerning mind.

“It is a memory of all beauteous things
The wide earth storeth,
A music that is living and hath wings,
And heavenward soareth.
A song that is a lifetime wherein met
Are tears and laughter;
Where toil the wings of pleasure still doth fret,
And the hereafter
Is ever in the mind of him who hears,
While expectation
Stands waiting in his soul, with tremulous ears,
That consummation
Like some grand cadence, which he knows must close
In roll of thunder,
To usher in the silence of repose,
With peace thereunder.”

That song is, indeed, a microcosm; a musical representation of nature; imperfect, it is true, as all terrestrial art

must be imperfect, but whose very imperfection has a meaning, and that a deep one. It is an imperfection like that of nature—consisting not in faultiness, but in want of completeness; an imperfection which is suggestive, which is prophetic, which teaches us that here, on the straightened round of this little orb, all that is greatest and noblest must remain incomplete—for that their consummation lies in the unfathomable “hereafter,” too great to be included in our little sphere. Such conceptions and aspirations are like roads whose end we cannot see, but whose finger-boards assure us that they lead to other worlds.

Let our art of the future be such a conception, such an aspiration. We know that it cannot be perfect, but let it be modelled upon nature—and its very imperfections, like those of nature, will be mighty foreshadowings of immortality.

Finally, these are not visions; they are sober principles, capable of practical realization. Whether we shall accord them their due value or not, time alone can decide. But that time is not far distant; for, while we utter these words, we think we see our much-loved State standing among her palmettos, on the yellow sands, watching her sons as they prepare to embark upon the lofty and perilous enterprise before us. And, as one by one they take the places she assigns them, we hear her say, in the words of one of her own children,

“I will not count the chances,—sure that all
A prudent foresight asks we shall not want;
And all that bold and patient hearts can do,
Ye will not leave undone—the rest is God’s!”—TIMROD.

ART. X.—FUTURE REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN SCHOOL BOOKS.

[THE following article, from the pen of a Virginian, exposes the evils under which the South has been doomed to suffer in the matter of her education and school books; and, though the writer does not always discriminate enough, there is much, too much, that is sadly true in what he says, which must, in our altered relations, be at once amended.

Let the State Legislatures at the South at once take up the subject, which is of more importance than any other that can be brought before them.

As our own contribution to the cause, we reproduce the following report which was made in 1856 to the Southern Convention at Savannah, Georgia.—Ed.]

SCHOOL BOOKS.

The committee, to which was referred the communication of the Rev. C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, of Mr. Wm. R. Babcock, of Charleston, and J.

W. Murphy & Co., of Baltimore, upon the subject of text books for Southern schools and colleges, beg leave to report :

That they consider the subject one of very great importance, not merely in a political, but likewise in a literary, point of view. The books rapidly coming into use in our schools and colleges at the South are not only polluted with opinions and arguments adverse to our institutions, and hostile to our constitutional views, but are inferior, in every respect, as books of instruction, to those which might be produced among ourselves, or procured from Europe.

Instead of improving with the improvements of the country, our text books, especially those of our schools, have sadly deteriorated ; and, unless something be done, and that speedily, to arrest the evil, the education of our children will be false, not only in politics, but in all the constituents of a sound literature.

Language, style, rhetoric, logic, ethics, religion, are all in danger, and in behalf of sound and thorough learning, we would invoke some action which might restore to our children the old models after which were fashioned the scholars of the past.

We need nothing better than the schools and text books which disciplined the scholars, the statesmen, the orators, the gentlemen of the South, for the first half century of our national existence.

The systems of Eton and Westminster have never yet been bettered, and the sooner we get back into the old beaten track of English training the better for us in all respects, whether as scholars, as writers, as speakers, or as gentlemen.

The committee, however, differ from the memorialists in the way in which this reform shall be effected. The difficulty in this matter has not arisen from any lack of ability in the South either to prepare or to publish the necessary text books for schools and colleges, but from distinct and independent causes, which will be briefly stated, as indicating the remedy we would suggest.

The first of these causes is, that we have permitted, from the unwillingness of Southern men to become teachers, our schools and colleges to pass almost entirely into the hands of Northern men, who have gradually introduced the crude text books of their native soil to the exclusion of the better matured text books of the older schools of Europe.

Another of these causes is, that no man of real learning and experience, in whose acquirements and judgment the whole South has confidence, has ever yet undertaken to counteract this evil by providing for the wants of our schools and colleges.

Another of these causes is, that there has been no co-operation among the people of the Southern States for meeting and counteracting this condition of things, all complaining of the evil, but none indicating the suitable remedy.

We would, therefore, suggest the following plan, as one which seems to us best adapted to relieve us from this growing and dangerous evil :

1. *Resolved*, That a committee be requested by this Convention to take this matter under their auspices, and to select or prepare such a series of books, in every department of study, from the earliest primer to the highest grade of literature and science, as shall seem to them best qualified to elevate and purify the education of the South.*

2. *Resolved*, That when this series of books shall have been prepared, the Legislatures of the Southern States be requested to order their use in

* The Committee was named, but have never acted. The plan of organization can be much improved, as we will show at an early day.—Ed.

all the public schools of their respective States, and the trustees of incorporated academies be requested to adopt them as their text books.

These two resolutions would cover the whole ground. The first will give us books in which we can feel confidence; the last will ensure to any Southern publisher the most ample remuneration. No legislative aid would be necessary—no hotbed culture required. These books would gradually supersede all others, and the demand from fifteen States would richly repay any publisher.

Germany, France and England would furnish an ample supply of text books, from which choice might be made, and along with better books would come better teachers, and a better method of education. It is a lamentable fact that, while education at the South is more generally diffused, real scholarship has become more rare. The old traditional English training is passing away, and nothing has arisen to supply its place. We must awake from this lethargy, and revive the system which gave us the accomplished men of the past—the scholars, the statesmen, the orators, who have so richly illustrated our annals.

J. D. B. DE BOW, of Louisiana.

H. GOURDIN, of South Carolina.

D. MCRAE, of North Carolina.

The school books in use by Southern teachers are fast becoming an intolerable nuisance. This may seem to be an extravagant statement to Southern readers, who know that our school books are written, printed and published at the North, and who would be disposed to think, for that reason, they are incapable of improvement; but however incredible the statement may seem, there are yet two classes of persons who are fully convinced of its truth, viz.: the parents who pay for them, and the teachers who employ them in imparting instruction.

It is, of course, unnecessary to say one word in praise of a good school book. They are as necessary in the business of instruction as the hammer and plane to the carpenter, or the plough to the farmer. These indispensable tools of the mechanic and farmer are uniform in their construction and mode of use, and are made in the best possible manner. What would be the condition of these important departments of industry, if the mechanic should be compelled to change his tools, year after year, throwing them aside as he found that they broke in his hands, or were not adapted to his work? Or, how would agriculture flourish, if the farmer was compelled to get a different model of a plough every month, and finally reject them all as worthless? Fortunately for the interests of the farmer and mechanic, they are not compelled to do this; but if they were, they would soon set their inventive genius to work, and supply from their own brains the thing needed.

¶ The state of the case in regard to school books is very aptly represented by the above supposed case. A large

number of the school-books used in this country are very faulty, many of them so much so as to be quite worthless; many again are infected with abolitionism, and doubtless, as things are now going, they will soon all be so. When we add to their intrinsic worthlessness the fact that their name is legion, some idea may be formed of the trouble and perplexity which is caused to teacher, pupil and parent; while the teacher tries book after book, in the vain hope of at last securing one, clear and plain in its statements, and free from errors and blunders; or, disappointed in this, makes the best of what he has, by supplementing its deficiencies and correcting its errors, the pupil, in the meantime, loses interest in the subject and confidence in the truth of statements, where there are so many different expounders; and the parent, who cannot understand why books are changed so often, is disposed to regard teaching and teachers as humbugs.

Here, let no one suppose that we regard the *book* as of more importance in education than the living, intelligent teacher. Without depreciating the advantages of oral instruction, we say that it cannot be used exclusively, except with students of the higher grades. Every practical teacher must have felt what an inexpressible comfort it is, both to himself and his pupils, to have a good text book. In fact, in certain grades of students, the greatest learning and skill in the teacher will not compensate for bad text books.

Such being the present and prospective evils of the school books we use, they need only to be generally seen and felt, to rouse a determination to cease longer to use Northern books, and to supply their place by better ones (if we can make them), but certainly home productions. The question will arise, why have not Southern teachers supplied this want, which they have long seen and felt? The answer is, that there has never been a time when such an effort would have met with success, and because the South has chosen to be dependent on the North for *everything* they use, except the cotton, tobacco and wheat, which the bounty of nature yields. The principle of our action has been studied neglect of home enterprise, wherever it has come in conflict with Northern. The idea of Southern inferiority has become so deeply rooted that it has become part of our nature; and nothing but the struggles of the revolution now in progress will pluck it out of our hearts. This fatal idea, which, like the deadly Upas, has blighted Southern commerce, manufactures and literature, is the result of our own folly. We

placed the education of the young—the moulding of thought and opinion—in the hands of our enemies. Could any other result have been anticipated, when every man who could bear the expense, hurried off sons and daughters to Northern schools and colleges? But those who were left behind endured a worse fate, in being left to the tender mercies of peripatetic Yankees—a class which one of their own poets has so aptly described as,

“Wandering through the Southern countries, teaching
The A. B. C. from Webster’s spelling-book,
Gallant and godly, making love and preaching,
And gaining—by what *they* call *hook and crook*,
And what the *moralists* call *overreaching*—
A decent living. The Virginians look
Upon them with as favorable eyes
As Gabriel on the devil in paradise.”

The last statement was not strictly true at the time the poet wrote, but, thank God, it is so now. We have expelled the whole brood of them from our borders, and are fast eradicating the false sentiments and ideas which they introduced and labored so assiduously to impress upon the minds of the young. They have left behind them a legacy of school books. Let us complete the work by banishing them, too, from our land. The events transpiring around us justify us in the hope that the attempt may be successful, if the public mind can be enlightened as to the true character of these books.

In attempting to present some of the characteristics of these books, facts will be presented which are perfectly familiar to all who have experience in their use. It cannot be doubted that we have suffered an injury, and will suffer a greater by their continued use. In the first place, because, as before stated, many of them are very faulty, and many entirely worthless on account of the errors they contain.

Now, to many, it will seem as absurd to say that Northern school books are not perfect, as to deny that the sun gives light, or that Boston is the “hub of creation.” What! When every bookseller publishes a complete series, from the lowest to the highest; when every professor in every rural college publishes *his* classical, *his* mathematical series—not good? Preposterous. Now one chief reason why they are not good is, that there is such a vast number of them. If intellectual power and activity were measured by the number of books issued from the press, then, indeed, we

would conclude that the North has the very brain of Minerva.

Northern men often point with exultation to the astonishing *crop* of school books which matures every year, and exclaim, "Ain't we a great literary nation?" Deducting from the enormous mass a reasonable number of books which are really good, and whose merits we are not at all disposed to deny, what remains? A mass of translations from French and German compendiums, abridgments and patchwork generally, together with the crude efforts of juvenile professors, who cannot rest satisfied until they have attained the honors of authorship. Of what earthly value is such a work as Cooper's *Virgil*? or the various works pretending to be treatises upon Natural Philosophy, as Wells'? or most of the various works professing to be English grammars? Who can estimate the injury done to classical learning by the use of Anthon's editions? Their inevitable effect is to make superficial scholars. If they do not contain errors, it is because the editor never ventures out of the plainer paths of history and mythology into the obscurer ones of etymology and syntax. There can be no possible objection to the translation, reprint or abridgment of a standard foreign work, provided the editorial labors be well and faithfully done; but let credit be given to the real authors. The American editor must "correct the errors" and "adapt the work to the use of American students;" and he generally contrives to introduce two errors for every one he corrects, and the "adaptation to the use of American students" is generally an emasculation of the work so complete that the author would not recognize his own production. There are, perhaps, as many as a dozen works on chemistry, professedly original, in which every fact, the general idea and plan of the work, and, in many instances, the language, are taken from Turner. Now, while some of these may be useful as abridgments (for Turner is too voluminous for general use), they show the existence of a tendency to superficial treatment of a subject, and the effect of their use is to make superficial scholars. It is impossible for one mind to know everything thoroughly; and, as the Yankee nation claims to know every science and teach every art under the sun, it must be that, where the streams of knowledge are so broad, they are very shallow. Their text books must, therefore, conform to this idea; and, as there are certain subjects adapted only to minds somewhat mature, immature minds require the subject to be brought

down to their comprehension. Boys of ten must be instructed in metaphysics, ethics, chemistry, natural philosophy, etc., and the result is the production of such books as "Wayland's Juvenile Mental and Moral Philosophy," and such miserable abortions of scientific works as "Wells' Familiar Science." It would not surprise us much to see announced an edition of these works adapted to the use of babies at the breast. The demand for this class of books has arisen immediately from the employment of incompetent teachers. Entering upon engagements to teach certain things, which they do not understand, they eagerly adopt such works, and cheat both parent and pupil by giving them shadow for substance. The result of this system is a most deplorable superficiality. The exodus of Yankee teachers from our midst is, unhappily, too recent, not to have left traces of their system upon the minds even of the rising generation. There are, doubtless, scores of intelligent teachers in the South who have observed the fact, and find in it a most serious obstacle in their efforts to impart sound and healthy instruction.

The evils above adverted to, though bad enough, might still be tolerated. But there is another quality which Northern school books are beginning to assume which must exclude them. Many of them already are crammed full of the most incendiary abolition doctrines. The idea of "publishing tables of anti-slavery sines and co-sines," is not by any means improbable or inconsistent with that insane spirit of fanaticism which proposes to employ *all* means to compass its ends. It could not be expected that this fell spirit, after having pressed into its service the pulpit, the bar, the press, the historians and the poets of its section, would fail to see, or neglect to employ, so obvious a mode of attack as this. They have poisoned our springs of knowledge, just as they put strychnine in the springs and wells of Texas. It is hardly necessary, on this point, to do more than to refer to the abolition works of Dr. Wayland and Albert Barnes. It would weary and disgust the reader to make quotations from these writers, and besides it would be unnecessary to our present purpose, for the tendency of the writings of these two men is so notorious that they have long been excluded from among us.

It would be an unpleasing, as well as laborious task to enumerate all the books which aim either openly or covertly a blow at us and our institutions. There is one, however, to which we wish to call especial attention, because,

under the title of "A Compendium of American Literature," it seeks to introduce into our schools the choicest selections from abolition literature, accompanied by the commentary of the editor, exhibiting toward us a cool malignity of hate exceeding anything that has come under our notice. The editor is one Charles D. Cleaveland. His book is constructed upon the principle, now so common among Northern writers, of entirely ignoring the literary pretensions of the South, by refusing them admission into their "Compendiums" and "Cyclopædias." We heard, some time ago, considerable complaint of the exclusion of Southern writers from Dana's "Household Book of Poetry," but no Southern gentleman or lady would complain of being excluded from Cleaveland's collection. They would find themselves cheek by jowl with Sumner, Cheever, Stowe, Beecher, *et id omne genus*. We do not, therefore, complain of injustice, but simply warn readers from buying and putting into the hands of the young such a book. Let us notice some of the *points* of this *American Compendium*. 1st. Out of one hundred and nine names there are only five Southern ones. 2d. Half of the Northern men quoted are, or have been, abolitionists. 3d. The quotations from their works consist of the bitterest anti-slavery speeches, essays and poems. 4th. In his sketches of the lives of the writers, the editor omits no opportunity to display his ignorance and hate of us. If any one thinks it worth while to verify these statements, he can do so by referring to the sketches of the lives, and extracts from the writings, of Albert Barnes, Channing, Bryant, Cheever, Mrs. Child, G. W. Curtis, Dr. Franklin, Hildreth, Jefferson, Longfellow, Lowell, Mrs. Stowe, Chas. Sumner, Wayland, Whittier, and many others of inferior note. The title of the book might very well be changed to "A Compendium of Abolitionism," and it may be truly called the most select book of its kind extant. It does not throw open its classic pages to the vulgar slang of Congressional abolitionism. Lovejoy and Giddings, Wade and Hale, find no entrance here, but there are gathered the choicest *morceaux* in oratory, poetry and divinity. In fact, we have in it the very *crème de la crème* of anti-slavery.

That such a book as this can circulate in the South, is, of course, impossible. But there are many others less open in their teachings, and, therefore, more to be dreaded. When we recollect that the pestilential doctrines of the Abolition party have gained almost universal acceptance at

the North, as much by the teaching of the common schools as by any other agency, we see the danger to which we have been exposed by Yankee books in the hands of Yankee teachers. We have expelled the latter, and it remains for us to complete the work.

The question arises, "Can we supply the want which will thus be created?" We can; but we are sorry to add an *if*. We can supply the books, *if* the Southern people will buy them. There never has been a time, in the last twenty-five years, when Southern publishers have not been ready and willing to publish books by Southern authors, if there had been a reasonable probability that Southern people would buy them. The experience of Virginia authors and publishers of school books, has not, we imagine, been very encouraging. But is it because those that have been published are devoid of merit? Surely, this is not the case. Among those published there are some confessedly among the best, if not the very best of their kind: *e. g.*, "Courtenay's Calculus," "Crozet's Arithmetic," "Schooler's Descriptive Geometry," Dr. Harrison's works on Latin and Greek Grammar, "Smith's Algebra," &c. As these works are neither generally nor extensively used in Virginia, it is probable that they have proved profitable neither to author nor publisher. The few Virginia authors that publish, are too well aware of the prejudice that exists against everything of Southern production, to consign their works to oblivion by issuing them from a Richmond or Charleston press. They must receive the *imprimatur* of the Harpers or the Appletons to arrest the attention of the Southern man; so the Richmond merchant buys the Manchester osnaburgs, or the Savannah merchant the Georgia stripes in New York, in order to be able to sell them at home.

These things ought not so to be; but so they will be until the Southern people have removed from their minds the impression that their fellow-citizens can produce nothing worthy of their acceptance. When this shall occur, we shall see school books of every sort issuing from the Southern press—books *at least as good* for purposes of instruction as those we now use, and free from the taint of corruption. While the links which bind our commercial, religious and political union are snapping asunder, let us throw off this degrading dependence upon the North. If we cannot write our own books, we can, at least, reprint English and translate French ones, and thus stop one artery of our life-blood, which flows northward to nerve the arms and strengthen the hearts of our deadliest foes.

ART. XI.—COMMERCE AND WAR.

COMMERCE is one of the most powerful agencies to civilize the world and advance the physical and moral well-being of mankind. Its essential characteristic of intrinsic officiousness renders it a social institution of the first importance to civilization; and its dependence on the multitude for patronage, imparts to it the insinuating qualities of refined taste and polite manners. It thus carries civilization to distant lands and remote islands, and plants colonial establishments for the diffusion of knowledge where barbarism once reigned in undisturbed peace, and savage ignorance revelled in wild freedom—companion of the beasts of the impenetrable forests.

The factor who is engaged in traffic, who exchanges the valuable products of nature and industry of distant countries, is the most energetic missionary on the high road to civilization, and contributes a beneficial influence to dispel the dark shadows which enshroud in dreary gloom the most beautiful spots of earth, far more effective for good than that exercised by the spiritual high priests of sectarian rivalry, and the philanthropic fathers of Christian benevolence.

Religious proselytism is a forced and sudden transformation, frequently holding the torch of fanaticism and the sword of retribution suspended over the head of the recusant dissenter and the pagan unbeliever. But the civilizing process of commerce can only be carried into successful operation under the auspices of peace, the softening influence of courteous intercourse, and the social amenities of good neighborhood.

The missionary, impelled by the harsh severity of imperative duty, becomes at times as stern and relentless as destiny itself. But the gradual intrusion and spontaneous development of commerce, which connect the interchange of ideas with an overpowering interest, are the golden fetters which, while they secure the captive, flatter his pride and gratify his passion for adornment, and at the same time win him over to the new dispensation of things, without doing violence to his spirit of independence.

War was the principal medium of intercommunication, by means of which the progressive development of the civilization of the ancients became diffused and permanently fixed.

The Trojan war was waged to revenge an outrage against

the laws of nations, perpetrated under the guise of hospitality and friendship.

On the Granicus, at Issus, and on the plains of Arbela, Alexander the Great stormed the tide of Asiatic despotism; shut the floodgates of Persian insolence and tyranny, and delivered Europe forever from the scourge of absolute slavery and withering fatalism.

The battle of Pharsalia was the crowning event which extended the dominion of the Roman empire over half the known world. It smoothed the way for the universal adoption of Roman manners and Roman laws, and it gave to the Latin language the widest field of extension. It wiped away the distinction, hitherto existing, between the conquerors and the conquered. It brought into vogue a kind of plebeian equality, which subjected the high and the low, the rich and the poor, to the degrading supremacy of audacity and usurpation.

The irruptions of the Northern barbarians regenerated the dastard effeminacy and morbid indolence so universally prevalent among the population of the Roman empire.

The crusades gave to the feudal system a more popular character. They bound the vassal to the liege lord by closer social ties and more intimate social intercourse. They effected an interchange of ideas between Asia and Europe.

During the earlier periods of the world's history war was productive of beneficial results in the economy of human society, by bringing about an intermixture of various nations and races. It thus preserved the original vigor and native energy of old and overgrown nationalities by the judicious transplantation of foreign materials.

The Jews, who more than any other nation preserved their identity for centuries, became sojourners and exiles in every country on the habitable globe, to prepare the pagan world for the acceptance of Christianity and Mahometanism. Conquered tributaries, they were carried as captives into Babylon. Indefatigable in energy, and fruitful in resources, they forced their way into Persia, Media and Assyria. Permitted to return to their native land by Cyrus, they built up a new State under the protectorate of the Persian empire, but were again dispersed all over Greece and Egypt by the conquests of Alexander. Their country was finally reduced to a dependent province of the Roman empire, and the remnants of their people were scattered thence over Europe and Africa.

If other nations and races could, like the Jews, have preserved their identity, unmixed descendants of the Romans would be found on the banks of the Thames; and the sons, descended in a direct line from those Britons whom Cæsar could not subdue, would be seen in Italian disguises in the streets of Rome. Greeks would have preserved their characteristic features among the French population of Marseilles; and Gauls would still be found scattered among the native hordes of Thrace and Asia Minor.

The various tribes of the Caucasian race have been greatly improved by this forced amalgamation and endless intermixture; and this is the principal reason why the Caucasian race has outstripped all other races in the progress of the arts, of the sciences, and of civilization.

The high position occupied by England, distinguished as she is for intellectual pre-eminence and moral stability, may be adduced to illustrate this principle. The English nation is a compound mixture of Britons, Celts, Picts, Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Normans. The same principle is also at work in the North American States, where immigration is encouraged; and it cannot fail, in due time, to render the North American continent the focus of modern civilization.

Expansion and acquisition of new territory serve as safety valves, in free and populous countries, to eliminate from the body politic those turbulent spirits of lawless ambition, whose moody and peevish temper has never been soothed by the bribe of official position and the emoluments of lucrative places within the gift of the government. The most powerful and most enlightened nations of antiquity, regarding commercial pursuits as dishonorable to citizens of rank and influence, had recourse to the expediency of war and conquest, as a means of diversion to allay the internal fermentations of the discontented multitude.

On the other hand, the most populous and progressive nations of modern times have given a new stimulus to the spirit of inter-migration, by fostering friendly, commercial intercourse with all countries and all nations, who are ready to treat upon the principle of reciprocity.

Whenever the advantages of commerce, unfettered by prohibitory duties, and unrestrained by navigation laws, shall be sufficiently appreciated and understood, war will cease to be a civilizing agency, and will be only resorted to in extreme cases, as the *ultima ratio regum*. Free trade and free interchange of thought will eventually go hand-in-

hand, and a new and brighter era will dawn upon the human race, when "nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

India, the cradle of civilization, was also the first commercial country in the world. It exchanged its cashmeres, its diamonds, its tissues of cotton and wool, for the gold brought by caravans from the deserts of Cobi and Ethiopia. It sent forth its invaluable productions, to bring back as a return cargo the silver of Spain, the incense of Arabia and the merchandise of Babylon.

It was a merchant prince of Phœnicia who established a colony in Greece, and conferred the greatest benefit upon the human race, by teaching the knowledge of letters to the savage aboriginal Achæans. Thus we owe to the commercial activity of Tyre the science and intellectual wonders of modern times.

It was the commercial grandeur of Cyprus, of Rhodes, and of the Morea, which procured for Greece, among foreign nations, the wide-spread renown of enlightened culture in philosophy and refined taste in the arts.

Sparta regarded commerce with contempt. Aristotle denounced it as degrading to the human mind. The Romans considered it as a low, grovelling pursuit, fit only to be exercised by foreigners and slaves. In the time of Justinian, even patricians were prohibited to engage in traffic. "*Nobiliores natalibus et honorum luce conspicuos, et patrimonio ditiores mercimonium exercere prohibemus, ut inter plebeios et negotiatores facilius sit emendi, vendendire commercium.*" A nobleman in France would have been hooted in the streets if he had dared to cast his lot with mercers and ship-masters. The philosophic Montesquieu could not sufficiently divest himself of his national prejudices as to applaud the liberal laws of England, where nobles were permitted to embark in trade without let or hindrance.

During the middle ages the Catholic Church hurled its anathemas, and Rome wielded her ecclesiastical fulminations against the merchant and the money-lender. In the year 1090, the Council of Melfi, held under the sanction of Pope Urban II, denounced the profession of the tradesman as an unchristian avocation, and impressed upon it its seal of condemnation by declaring that it cannot be followed with a safe conscience. The ban of the church was thus laid upon commerce, and the civilized world reaped the fruit of this unnatural prohibition. Kingdom was arrayed against kingdom in unceasing warfare, and bitter feuds and

bloody embroilments were constantly fomented between powerful lords and petty tyrants.

Venice, Genoa, Florence, and the Hanse towns, regardless of the sanctimonious austerity of the church, became the factors and carriers of the rich traffic of the East, and they were crowned the mighty sovereigns of the sea, and the supreme rulers of the powerful trident. Having thus gathered the treasures of wealth, they emerged from the gloom of barbarism, and laid up for future generations a store of intellectual knowledge, upon which was reared the most magnificent structure of modern civilization, supported by two stately pillars, *freedom of thought and liberty of conscience*.

It is from the Hanse towns that England inherited her commercial and maritime greatness. The liberal encouragement given by her to navigation, and the protection so munificently tendered to trade, have placed her in the foremost rank of the great powers of Europe, and have made her the freest, the most happy, and the most prosperous country in the Old World.

Commerce expands and liberalizes the mind. Notwithstanding that in ordinary circumstances the merchant is timorous and conservative, and utterly averse to sudden revolution and inconsiderate innovation, yet a commercial community has never yet submitted to tyranny and oppression. Our ancestors staked their lives, their fortunes and sacred honor, to guard their liberties and conquer their independence, because the mother country dared to fetter commerce by unauthorized restrictions. A trifling duty of a few pennies, laid on tea, furnished the spark to kindle the explosive materials which swept British domination for ever from our soil.

Commerce is entitled to the high honor of having dictated the first code of international law. The first compilation of the principles of public law was made by some master mind, for the use of the maritime nations inhabiting the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean. The *Consolato del Mare* does honor to the jurist and the sage, who, in advance of the age in which he lived, has left to posterity a code of laws founded on equity and reason, which has served as a text book in courts of justice and in cabinets of statesmen, to adjust the differences which casually spring up between rival commercial communities.

The idea of discovering a commercial highway between Europe and India, gave to Christianity and to liberty the

whole continent of America, and made it the wonder of modern progress. The commercial intercourse which is about to be established between American and Asia, will eventually bring the Chinese and Japanese within the pale of European civilization, and scatter broadcast the seed of Christian morality and refinement, where now the people are ruled by the senseless fictions of priests of Fo, and the bonzas of the Lama.

What was formerly accomplished for civilization by violent and sudden subversion, by forced substitution and submissive obedience, commerce will effect by benevolent and gradual intrusion and spontaneous adaptation. Commerce will continue to conquer and to be conquered; and by fostering a spirit of emulation, and teaching mankind habits of industry and usefulness, it will preserve the peace, and advance the happiness and well-being of nations.

ART. XII.—THE AMOOR—RUSSIA, KAMSCHATKA, JAPAN, ETC.*

THIS work is the production of an intelligent, well-informed gentleman. We employ the term "gentleman" to distinguish him from that host of writers of travels and of fiction who seem to be actuated solely by petty national spite and jealousy; by universal misanthropy, or by a desire to spread the sensual, infidel and agrarian doctrines of the new socialistic philosophy. Mr. Collins is a man of sound common-sense and of social morality; a philanthropist, who thinks well of mankind, and would ameliorate their condition by old, tried and accustomed means, not by attempting to expel nature, and erecting phalansteries and Utopias in its stead. He passes through Moscow without, like Bayard Taylor, falling in love with her "foundling hospital." In his whole book he utters not a sentiment to disgust the gentleman or the Christian—and that is saying a great deal for a book in these days of sensational and radical literature. The defects of the work are, however, gross and glaring. He travelled too rapidly, adhered too closely to public roads and public conveyances, to have much time or opportunity for observation. And, insufficient as were the materials which he collected, he has erred and sinned grievously, as an author, in not taking time to arrange, digest, generalize and abridge those materials. For the most part

*A Voyage Down the Amoor: with a Land Journey through Siberia, and Incidental Notices of Manchonia, Kamschatka and Japan. By Perry McDonough Collins.

his work is a mere logbook of a voyage by land and by water. Here is a graphic description of the speed by which he travelled, by night and by day, over a country covered with snow, in the depth of a Siberian winter:

"We hastened on; making some very good day's work, passed through Kansh, Ningi, Udinsk, and many other considerable towns, without anything worthy of note, and arrived on the banks of the Rigara, opposite Intuck, the capital of Eastern Siberia, on the 7th day of January, 1857, at four o'clock P. M., making, within a few hours of thirty-five days, since leaving Moscow, a distance of three thousand five hundred and forty-five miles, having slept out of our sleigh only three whole nights in that time, with an atmosphere ranging from fifty degrees below zero to ten degrees above. We changed horses two hundred and ten times, and drove over seven hundred on the journey, with some two hundred drivers and twenty-five postilions. The actual time employed in the journey, including ordinary delay, was about twenty-eight days and nights, averaging, therefore, a speed of one hundred and twenty-six miles every twenty-four hours, or five miles and a fraction per hour."

His trip down the Amoor was quite as monotonous, free from opportunities of observation (of aught save the river), and void of incident as his travel by land. An occasional upset of his sleigh and grounding of his boat were the only moving accidents, by "flood or field," that befel him. For example: on one occasion a horse falls dead in the traces, but the other horses did not remit their speed, and he was dragged on to the next station house, over the ice of a river on which they were travelling. Our author indulges in an ingenious surmise or conjecture on this occasion which shows that, although he never indulges in the luxury and license of spinning "long yarns," like other travellers, it is not for want of the imaginative faculty. He supposes the horse had been dead for some time before he fell, but was travelling at such a dashing speed that he couldn't take time to fall! "*Credat Judeas Appella! Non ergo!*"

Mr. Collins is by no means a vain, conceited man, yet the rapidity with which he travelled left him little but himself to write about; hence he gives us a sort of Iliad or Odyssey, of which he himself is the hero. To get home as soon as possible, to travel as far as possible, was the object of both Ulysses and Eneas, and at this he beat them all hollow; showing, conclusively, that if the ancients surpassed us in writing epics, we surpass them in the speed with which we enact them.

The very monotony and tediousness of this book is, however, suggestive of much useful and instructive reflection. Northern Russia, a hundred and fifty years ago, was inhab-

ited by savages and barbarians, and to travel through it would have been impossible. Now, an American travels over two thousand miles, from the Baltic to the Pacific, with fewer mishaps and less annoyance than he would have met with anywhere else on the face of the globe. This great improvement in this vast region was began chiefly by Peter the Great, and has been steadily prosecuted by the administrations of all his successors. Peter and many of his successors were tyrants, yet all seem to have been excellent monarchs. How admirable that form of government in which the defects, the vices and the crimes of the autocrat do not retard or affect the happiness and prosperity of the people. In fact, all the while, Russia, although in name a despotic monarchy, was, in reality, an aristocracy; and, like the feudal barons of England, owning the people, represented their interests correctly and faithfully. The Russian government has been, until now, patriarchal and paternal; just such as best suited her ignorant and illiterate peasantry. We do not believe that they are yet prepared for liberty and individual independence, and have no doubt the emancipation of the serfs, now progressing, will prove unwise and disastrous.

There are two other great truths incontestibly proved by this work, which the author, so far from intending to establish, would dispute or deny, if suggested to him. The first is, that migration and conquest proceed northward and southward from a tropical or proximo-tropical centre. History, sacred and profane, shows that this centre was somewhere in South-Western Asia—probably not far from the Tigris or Euphrates, or from Mount Ararat. The Slavonic race, who have gradually occupied and civilized the whole of Northern Europe and Northern Asia, and the Hindoo race, who proceeded south and conquered Hindostan, were once our people, as their languages prove. At the opening of written history we find the Slavonic race situated near the mouth of the Danube; but their language shows that they once dwelt farther south, for it is little more than a dialect of the Hindoo tongue. For more than a thousand years this Slavonian race have been passing northward, and westward, and eastward, until now they occupy much of Hungary, all of Poland, are dispersed throughout Germany, from the German ocean to the eastern extreme of Austria, and spread and dominate throughout Russia from the Baltic to the Pacific. There is no exodus like this to be found in all of history, and yet it is the

exodus of a southern people going northward, and conquering and taking the places of inferior northern races. This exodus, and this conquering, and settlement, and domination, has been going on for more than a thousand years, and is now in as active operation as ever. The Finns, the Tartars, and other Mongolian races, are disappearing before the advance of the Slavonic Russians, who came from the south. The Bible is the oldest and most truthful of all histories. Profane history but elucidates and corroborates its statements.

Man, plants and animals proceeded from one common centre, and invariably deteriorate as they advance from a warm to a cold climate. The Esquimaux, the Laplanders and the Finns also came from the South, but long residence in the frozen North had so reduced them, intellectually and physically, that they needed a new infusion of southern blood, and became easy prey to southern conquerors. The horse proceeds from Arabia to England and the Shetland isles. In England, a Darley or Godolphin Arabian, or other Turkish or Arabian cross, by occasional infusion, will keep up his beauty of proportions and his speed. In the Shetland isles, the horse has become an irreclaimable, shaggy, dwarfish deformity, like the Laplander! The elephant wandered to and dwelt at the mouth of the Neva, but he was diminutive and woolly, like the Shetland pony. The trees, the fruits, the vegetables, of the North, proceeded from the South also; but they become diminutive, coarse and insipid, just as they approach the loins of the ever-frozen North. Nothing is fully matured or perfectly developed in cold countries. The instincts of animals, the intellects of men, as well as all physical organism—vegetable, animal and human—deteriorate as you depart from warm climates and enter cold ones.

You cannot make a man of a horse, however far you carry the horse South, yet the horse and all other animals improve as you advance into the warmer climates. You cannot make a Mongolian a Caucasian by placing him in the South; yet the Mongolian of India and Southern China is far superior to the Lapps or the Esquimaux. You cannot change the negro's skin by bringing him from Canada to New Orleans; yet the negroes of New Orleans are as far superior to the negroes of Canada as the blooded horse of Arabia to the Canadian pony. Change of climate will not obliterate *genus* or *species*, but will greatly improve or deteriorate individuals. The negro race is a distinct race, and a very inferior one,

and this inferiority is greatly aggravated by removing him North. All the races of man are most perfect in torrid climes.

The (so-called) conquest of the Roman empire by Northern barbarians, does not disprove the superiority of Southern over Northern people; but, when carefully considered, rather increases it. The Huns, after the great battle of Chalons, were beaten back. The Germans and Goths had been trained as Roman soldiers, and invited to settle in the empire. At last they came down as seeming conquerors, but real slaves. They were absorbed into the populations of Italy, France and Spain; adopted the language, laws, religion, and habits and customs of the Romans; became the subjects of the papacy, the then ruling power; and never existed as a ruling or dominant power. No vestiges of them now remain; but so long as they could be distinguished from the Latin races, with whom they intermixed, they were held to be a very inferior, inert and worthless people, and occupied a social position far below that of the people whom they are generally supposed to have conquered. The numbers who descended upon the empire have been greatly exaggerated, for the personal appearance of Italians, Frenchmen and Spaniards are just the same as in the days of Cæsar and Tacitus, and the light-haired and fair-skinned German is only found where he then dwelt. The Goth has either died out in presence of a superior race, or a Southern climate has changed and improved his physical and intellectual characteristics.

There is nothing more interesting in Mr. Collin's book than is a description of the annual fair at Novorogod—a Russian European city on the confines of Asia. We can give but a part of it:

"Twenty-four hours' travelling from Moscow will bring the traveller within sight of the white walls and blue domains of Novorogod. The fair is held in autumn, and the weather is usually at that season fine, so that of dust, not mud, will be the misery; but if there has been any rain, the road for the last nine miles will exceed, in depth of the latter, all that the tourist has ever been dragged through, and one traveller states that he was five hours performing the last five miles. This is caused by the carriages, kibitas and telegas of the different streams of traders and merchandize conveying to this central point. Long lines of these vehicles will assure the stranger that he is approaching the town. Bands of Cossacks, stationed by way of police, in rude tents along the road, with their lances glancing among the trees, are seen in large numbers; the crowds of Russians and wild Eastern-looking men, in singular and various costume, become every moment more dense, until, on reaching Nigri itself, the crowd and turmoil surpasses all description.

"The town of Nigri is situated on the high triangular promontory, stand-

ing between the Volga and the confluence of the Oka, with that river. The Oka at this point seems as large as the former, and is, in fact, a magnificent stream, and navigable for a great portion of its length."

The position of Novogorod is so admirably adapted for commerce, and so central with regard to Asiatic as well as European Russia, that Peter the Great, at one time, intended to make it the seat of the capital of the Empire instead of the mouths of the Neva. The country around it is also highly picturesque; nevertheless those who founded the city do not seem to have counted the opportunities of enriching themselves by means of the two great rivers that flow by it, for the old town lies back behind the ridge. This mistake struck the present Emperor very forcibly when he first visited Nigni (Novogorod) and he is said to have remarked that "Nature had done everything, man nothing." To remedy this, a suburb has been built along the face and at the foot of the high ground which forms the southern bank of the Oka. The principal part of the city lies on the summit of the triangular veight, and is chiefly composed of three handsome streets, converging toward an irregular open space in front of the Kremlin, which covers the lofty point of the triangle immediately overhanging the Volga. There is a beautiful terrace above this river, from whence is seen one of the most singular and extensive views in Europe—so far as the eye can reach extends a vast plain of forest land. The city contains no less than twenty-five churches, some of which are of singular beauty, two monasteries, and a nunnery. The Kremlin, with its low-arched gates and jagged walls, is one of the most remarkable of those ancient structures now remaining in Russia. Curious, however, as the Kremlin and the various churches are, they possess, to one who has seen all the wonders in this way at Moscow and St. Petersburg, little interest compared with the views from the spot on which they stand, and the two mighty rivers, on which the traveller looks down, flowing so near that it seems as if a pebble could be thrown into either from this lofty eminence.

Turning, however, from the far east, the stranger must look in a contrary direction, and across the Oka, to a triangular piece of land, between that and the Volga, low and sometimes inundated, and exposed to the waters of both these rivers, where, during the fair, is exhibited a picture of human life unparalleled in other portions of the globe. Here is then seen a vast town of shops, laid out in regular

streets, with churches, hospitals, barracks and theatres; the whole tenanted by no less than from two hundred and fifty thousand to three hundred thousand souls; destined, however, in six weeks to be as silent and lifeless as the forest steppes of which we have just made mention; for, when the fair is over, not an inhabitant of Nigni ever traverses the spot which annually swarms with foreigners. It must not be supposed that these shops are constructed, like the English booth, of canvas, ropes and poles; they are, on the contrary, regular houses; built of the most substantial materials, generally of one story, with large shops to the front, and sloping rooms, for the merchants and his servants, in the rear. The interior portion of the fair is regularly laid out in twelve or thirteen streets of shops, terminating in a Russian church and twelve Chinese pavilions, from the summits of which there is a good view. It is said that a person would have to walk twenty-five miles if he promenaded every street, and this does not include what may be called the suburbs of this fair. The business of this fair is of such importance that the governor of the province takes up his residence in it during the two months it lasts, that is to say, July and August. His house, which is in the centre, is a handsome building, and accommodates a large train of secretaries and other officials. A dozen Chinese pagodas rise above the shops, and the whole stands upon vaulted cloaca, into which filth of every kind is thrown. These sewers, which are constructed of hewn stone, are cleansed out several times a day by pumps, which draw the water from the adjoining rivers, and are entered at several points by handsome staircases. They were constructed by the Emperor Alexander, and are worthy of the Mopatha of ancient Rome. Any one who shows a disposition to defile the streets is quickly warned by the Cossacks to retire to the lower regions. A portion of the sums expended on these sewers, which, from the nature of the swampy soil, must have been enormous, could have been economized had a better site been selected. The first view of this fair from the Kremlin is very striking, but one must descend from that elevated spot and take the traveller into the busy scene itself. Here will be met a countless throng of every kind of vehicles, for this is the only bridge that connects the town of Nigni with the fair; and the space between the street in question and the entrance to it is one of the very few spots in Russia where large masses of the population can be congregated together, always excepting

the military portion of it. On each side of the bridge, and for more than a mile and a half above it, the river is wider than the Thames at Westminster, and so completely covered with boats that the element on which they float is scarcely visible. These barges, of every variety of shapes and tonnage, are either taking or discharging their cargoes. The shops, in the fair near the bank thus receive their goods at once from the two rivers, and at the more remote parts of it there are canals which serve the same purpose. An aquatic community, amounting to forty thousand persons from every corner on this side of the earth, inhabit this floating camp, and their countenances and costumes are as varied and strange as the vessels they navigate. On the Volga, near the mouth of the Oka and up and down the river, extends a similar scene. Immediately on leaving the bridge the fair ground begins; this part is crowded with Mujiks looking out for employment, with a good sprinkling of Cossacks to keep order; then come lines of temporary booths, displaying beads, trinkets, and articles of dress for the lower orders, particularly caps from Turkey, Khieghis-bonnets, made of black wool, and flat; gold-figured cowls from Kagan, &c.

We will now give, in the author's own words, a description of Irkutsk, which is situated 3,545 miles east of Moscow :

"Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, has a population of about twenty thousand, and is situated on the northern bank of the Angara river, about forty miles by the course of the river from the lake, and opposite the mouth of the Irkut, which flows into the Angara from the south. It has many churches and public institutions, is well built, lighted and paved.

"The Angara is the only outlet to the pent-up waters of Lake Baikal, which is five hundred miles long by forty to sixty wide, and in portions of it of unfathomable depth. The rivers emptying into Baikal drain an extensive country, and draw their sources from that chain of mountains which divide the waters of the Frozen ocean from those of the Pacific. The Selenga river, penetrating far into the regions of the Mongolia, is only separated from the waters of the Ho-ang-ho—the great river of Northern China—by the mountain ridges of Cobi. Many rivers, from more than a hundred sources, unite to make up this beautiful sheet of water.

"To appreciate the peculiar and singularly fortunate position of this city, one must study a good map of Northern Asia. The Angara falls into the Upper Tongaska, several hundred miles to the northwest of Irkutsk; the Tongaska falls again into the Ennifive, not far above the town of Eneszesk, from where—by a comparatively short portage—you reach an eastern branch of the Oby, which, leading still in the main or westerly course, conducts you into the Intish, which you ascend to the very foot of the Ural; thus having passed, by water, with one very short portage, across the whole eastern extent of Siberia. To the East and North, within a few hundred miles, are the navigable waters of the Sena, which conducts by Zakutsk toward the Sea of Okhotsk, and by the Alden to Okhotsk, and thence-

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" To appreciate the peculiar and singularly fortunate position of this city, one must study a good map of Northern Asia. The Angara falls into the Upper Tongaska, several hundred miles to the northwest of Irkutsk; the Tongaska falls again into the Ennifive, not far above the town of Eneszesk, from where—by a comparatively short portage—you reach an eastern branch of the Oby, which, leading still in the main or westerly course, conducts you into the Intish, which you ascend to the very foot of the Ural; thus having passed, by water, with one very short portage, across the whole eastern extent of Siberia. To the East and North, within a few hundred miles, are the navigable waters of the Sena, which conducts by Zakutsk toward the Sea of Okhotsk, and by the Alden to Okhotsk, and thence-

across it to Kamschatka. All these great northern rivers flow with a navigable breadth and depth into the waters of the Frozen ocean, and are even up to this day quite unused in much of their course, though for some months of the year free from ice, because their length and rapidity of current render them unavailable to any agent but steam, and that as yet has not been introduced. It may be said that commerce can never enter into this cold and inhospitable region, or that there is nothing on which commerce may subsist. On the contrary, bread and meat are quite as cheap in Siberia as they were on the banks of the Wabash before Fitch built the first steamer on the Ohio. The rivers are flanked with fine forests; the banks yield iron and coal, gold, silver and copper; while the waters and forests are abundantly stocked with game, fish and fowl, only awaiting the advance of population, and the introduction of steamboats and railroads.

"To the South you have the noble Angara, connecting with the Baikal, and leading off to the plains of Mongolia by the Selucca, connecting the great Russian-Chinese marts of Kzatscha and Mia-met Iochin with a population of twenty millions, whose trade must all pass through the gates of Irkutsk, pulsating and circulating regularly between the imperial cities of Moscow and Peking. To the east of Kzatscha, not many hundreds of miles (and if a railroad were constructed, only twenty-four hours distant), you come upon the great outlet of Northern Asia, on the river Amoor.

"Irkutsk, thus situated, with a salubrious climate, productive soil, noble rivers and Oriental commerce, rich in gold and silver, iron and copper, coal and lead, salt, asphalt and ivory, presents to us a queenly little city, situated upon the beautiful shores of the Angara, to whose future grandeur and prosperity it is not easy at present to assign limits."

The necessities incident to Asiatic Russia are quite removed by the laws of nature; having within her borders the noblest system of rivers in the world, they are yet, in a great degree, unavailable to her necessities, from the fact that their entrance into the ocean is so far north as to render them, in consequence of the severity of the climate, wholly unavailable during nine months in every twelve; owing to this, and to the fact that the ocean into which they flow, to its high northern latitude, is nearly useless in a commercial point of view, being, as its name implies, the "Frozen ocean," they can only be reached at great expense, delay, hardship and privation. The trade, then, of Siberia, in seeking an outlet for its commerce, as well as an inlet to its wants, must seek it against all precedent and all example, toward the source of her great rivers; and they, mostly in their general course, being from south to north, have their origin in that great backbone of Asia which divides the waters of that continent between Northern and Southern Asia. The commerce, then, of this country, seeking a channel of communication with other countries and nations, must, of necessity, seek the sources of new rivers for an outlet; and in case of failure to meet the required facilities of water communication, must content itself with the more difficult and costly route by land, the

only resort left to it. Hitherto, the close and jealous policy of the people inhabiting the more southern portions of Asia has forced the trade of that country westward, in order to seek an outlet.

This route, which would be absolutely impracticable under any other Government than that of Russia, has, under the fostering and thoughtful wisdom of that Government, become one of the greatest commercial arteries in the world.

Concentrating, as it does, at Kzatscha, where it gathers the trade of Monchonia; China and Mongolia, settling the balances and arranging the exchange, it then flows westward in a steady stream by land and by water, often slow, tedious and expensive, until it becomes lost in the great ocean of European Russian commerce at Novogorod; there it commingles, increasing and perfecting that immense system of Russian inland commerce flowing toward the imperial marts of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

This trade, although great, is absolutely one of complete necessity, and flows only in a necessitous and restricted current, not at present susceptible of world-wide expansion, or of much interest out of its immediate local neighborhood. What, then, does this country want? It wants a cheaper, an easier, a more rapid and a more constant communication to the sea. What sea? Not the Polar sea—nature has laid a prohibition in that direction; not the Baltic, nor the Caspian, nor the Black sea, which would lead to the Atlantic ocean—that she has now by the present overland route. What, then, remains? The overland route to Peking. Yes; but the land carriage is too great to reach the ocean that way, even if permitted by China.

What, then, is left? There is no communication eastward, in Siberia, into the Pacific ocean by water; if there was, the intense severity of the climate renders it impracticable.

It seems, then, there is no escape, east, west, north or south; all seem to be barred by nature or by man. But do not be too hasty. Look upon that map once again. There is a chain of mountains, not very high, that skirts the south-eastern horizon. Look once again, and you will see that two great systems of waters are forming upon their gentle sides and interlocking these rivulets within their ravines and gorges, gathering the dew drops, embracing the gentle springs, absorbing the murmuring brooks, and presently on either hand course great rivers, on their way to far distant, far different and far divided oceans. Lake

Baikal receives the drainage of these waters on the north, while the Amoor receives the waters from the eastern and southern sheds, gathering in its mighty course the accumulated streams of a hitherto unknown little world, and onward rolling its unbroken course for two thousand five hundred miles toward the rising sun and the mild waters of the Pacific ocean. Throw yourself with confidence upon its flowing tide, for upon this generous river shall float navies richer and more powerful than those of Tarshish; mines shall be found upon its shore richer than those of Ophir, and the timbers of its forests more precious than the *Almagai* of Scripture; a mighty nation shall arise upon its banks and within its valleys, and at its mouth shall arise a vast city wherein shall congregate the merchant princes of the earth, seeking the trade of millions of people.

We intended to give some extracts from the author's description of the Amoor, and of the semi-barbarous Chinese and Russians living on its shores, but find nothing worth transcribing. This is not the fault of the author, but of his subject. The Amoor, in very many respects, resembles the Mississippi; and nothing is so tedious, tiresome, monotonous and melancholy as a trip up or down the Mississippi. Suppose the Mississippi without steamboats, rafts, flat-boats, &c., passing you at every moment, and without a decent habitation on its shores; and suppose yourself in an open boat, rowing or floating down it at the rate of twenty miles a day, with more than two thousand miles of river ahead of you, to be rowed, tugged and floated over before you will arrive at the residences of really civilized men; suppose all this, and you will excuse us for not giving the log-book of our traveller.

The dwellings in the villages, scattered at long intervals along the river, whether Russian or Chinese, are in that state of half civilization, which is far more disgusting and painful to contemplate than downright savagism. The agricultural peasantry of all Europe are in this half civilized state, and a picture of cottage life in England, Ireland or Scotland, is a faithful representation of such life throughout Europe, except in this that the peasants of Siberia, and of all Russia, have a plenty of coarse food, while those of other countries are at starvation point. We will give the author's description of the Cossacks of Argon, which pretty well pictures the population here met with on the Amoor:

"The houses are built of logs, and are of one story, with two or four rooms, a passage between. The doors are low and wide; and if ever I said

d—in my life, with emphasis, it was when I thumped my head against the top log of one of those detestable Siberian doorways, I said then, and with a vivid recollection of the thump, I still adhere to it, that if I were Emperor of Russia or Governor of Siberia, I would compel the people, in building their houses, to have the doors at least six feet and a half in the clear.

“In one end of the house the family live permanently, and eat, and drink and sleep. If there is a small back room partitioned from this, you may find a bed in it, and the wealth of the household, consisting in clothing or other valuables, secured in a trunk or box. But it is not always that you find so effeminate a thing as a bed in a Cossack's house. The sleeping is done all along the sides of an oven or stove, by which the room is warmed, or around the sides of the room or narrow benches, or upon the floor, or under the benches; sometimes the floor is covered several inches deep with straw or hay, and on this the whole family sleep. Going into one of these houses out of the cold fresh air, the stove steaming hot, the accumulated breath and perspiration of a dozen or two skin-clad people, is almost pestilential, and generally makes one sicken immediately. I have, on many occasions, had to escape into the open air to catch my breath. You will see in this manner whole families, for two or three generations, packed in pairs, and fours, and sixes, around the room. You walk in and the mistress gets up and strikes a light, frequently of splinters of wood, and then you see the whole family, lying heads and tails, arms and legs, odds and even; dressed half dressed, and not dressed at all, snoring, sleeping, groaning, coughing, stewing, squirming and sweating. That they don't all die of fevers is a strong proof of the salubrity of the climate, and the robust constitution of the people.

“One end of the better houses in the larger villages has a room generally kept as a spare room, with a few chairs, a small table or two, and a rough sofa. In such a house you may get tea; and if the good woman is applied to, you may get eggs, cream, milk, fish, and sometimes meat and vegetables or cabbage soup, and perhaps *quass*. In some of the larger villages you will find also a peasant, who is the rich man of his tribe, and in his house you will find a good and clean spare room. These rooms are kept for the accommodation of officers, or such other transient travellers as may happen to pass. The officers of Government are always furnished with accommodation by applying to the storasto, the head peasant of the village, or to the police master. They are quartered on any person who has a house or a suitable room, as we were in Nershinck and other places.”

The river Amoor is frozen more than half the year. Its navigation is safer than that of the Mississippi, for no snags or sawyers are embedded in its channel. It contains many more islands than the Mississippi, from which we infer its channel is often shifting. Its shores are not so uniformly low, nor its basin or valley near so wide as that of the great American river. It has no ebb and flow of the tide, no rapids, and the current of the two rivers is about the same—four miles an hour. Mountains approach it nearly, and are almost always in sight from its channel. The lands on its bank and on its valley are very fertile—and, for grass, far superior to those on the Mississippi. Its tributaries are numerous, and navigable to great lengths. The town and harbor at its mouth, owned by the Russians, has already

become a place of much trade, especially with the Americans, as well from the Atlantic as the Pacific source. Although, from its high northern latitude, this river may never realize the brilliant anticipations of our author, it is certainly destined to give new and profitable direction to much of the commerce of the world.

We dismiss our author by recommending his book as useful and instructive, although it be a little tedious. If he would abridge and condense it, he might make it one of the most agreeable and valuable works of the day. He possesses the requisite taste, judgment and ability to do what we suggest and to do it well.

ART. XIII.—CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES ON THE AGE.

CHRISTIANITY is adapted to promote both the temporal and spiritual interests of mankind. The direct and grand object of the gospel is to save the soul. Christ came into the world to deliver us from sin and death—confer on us righteousness and life, and make us heirs of future blessedness and glory. Hence, it is said, that “by His appearing He has abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel.”

But, at the same time, the doctrine and laws of Christ are intended to apply to man's conduct and relations, his occupations and pursuits in this world—to fit him to perform well his part on the present stage of action, and in this way acquire a character that will be his best introduction into the heavenly state. Religion is calculated to confer benefits of every description on man in this life, as well as to save his soul and make him happy hereafter. “Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.” It is the writer's purpose to view the gospel in its application to man's present state.

In order to see how much Christianity may do for man as an inhabitant of this world, and what the propagators of it should aim to accomplish while seeking his eternal salvation, let us refer to a people in a state of heathenism and barbarism. The first and most important end to be achieved by the missionary would be to instruct them in the knowledge of God and themselves; to awaken in their minds a sense of their own sins, guilt, danger, and spiritual necessities, and a desire of salvation; to preach to them Christ and Him crucified, and, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, bring them to repentance and faith in His name; to baptize such as give evidence of conversion, and organize them into a church, teaching them to observe all things which the Saviour has commanded. In this way they would be converted

from heathenism to Christianity. But it would be necessary, at the same time, to subvert and overcome their barbarous customs, manners, habits and mode of living, by introducing among them the implements, arts and improvements of civilization, and by training them to practice and follow new and better rules, customs and ways.

On this subject the following views have been expressed by Rev. T. J. Bowen, a native of Georgia, who has labored for several years as a missionary of the Southern Baptist Board in Central Africa. His opinion is, that Christianity cannot be permanently established among the people of that continent, or any other barbarous tribes, unless civilization accompany the preaching of the gospel and labors for their spiritual welfare. He says: "Our designs and hopes in regard to Africa, are not simply to bring as many individuals as possible to the knowledge of Christ. We desire to establish the gospel in the hearts and minds and social life of the people, so that truth and righteousness may remain and flourish among them, without the instrumentality of foreign missionaries. This cannot be done without civilization. To establish the gospel among any people, they must have Bibles and therefore must have the art to make them or the money to buy them. They must read the Bible, and this implies instruction. They must have competent native pastors, and this implies several things which cannot exist without a degree of civilization."

"What, then," he inquires, "shall Christians of this favored age attempt to do for Africa? The same as we are now attempting. Give the people missionaries, give them Bibles, give them the power to perpetuate the gospel amongst them, or, in one word, civilization. The missionary work, and the only duty of missionaries, as such, is the preaching of the gospel, and the planting and training of churches. The duties of this single calling are sufficient to fill the hands of any laborer. After all, the missionary is a man, no less than a minister, and, as a man, he cannot avoid feeling an interest in everything pertaining to the physical, mental and moral improvement of mankind. He must not be a schoolmaster for the heathen, but, if he is wise, he will do all that he consistently can for the promotion of such schools as are adapted to the condition and wants of the people. He cannot instruct them in the arts of the blacksmith, the carpenter, the mason, &c., but he will desire them to have that degree of instruction in every art which is necessary to their present improvement. He may not turn merchant among them, but he will rejoice at the extension of commerce, as one of the great means of civilization."

These principles have been most signally carried out in the Sandwich Islands. Forty years ago they were inhabited by savages and pagans. During this period they have been reclaimed from a state of heathenism and barbarism, and elevated into a civilized, Christian nation. They have a king and constitution, with executive, legislative and judicial departments of govern-

ment, a system of public schools, courts of law, magistrates and officers, custom houses, foreign and domestic commerce, public roads, agriculture, mechanic arts, and other improvements and signs of civilization, while the direct and great end has been to promote their spiritual and eternal interests; Christianity has also been applied, with happy results, to their temporal condition.

Let us, in the next place, contemplate the influence which the gospel may and should exert upon a people already civilized and in possession of it, so far as regards their present life. It may be affirmed, in general terms, that it should operate as a source of quickening, invigorating power to their intellectual nature, a purifier and refiner of their morals and manners, and should stimulate them to every species of material improvement calculated to better their condition and add to their comfort and happiness.

One effect of Christianity on a community or people professing it, should be, *to render them industrious*. Industry, or the love and habit of labor, a disposition and willingness to work, is a moral virtue. The Deity himself is distinguished as a workman, and is chiefly revealed to us by His works of creation, providence and redemption. The universe is constituted on the principle that all things must work, be active, accomplish service of some sort. The sun, moon and stars, the winds, the clouds, rains and dews of heaven, every part of nature has its office, and performs its appointed functions. The same is true of the inferior animals—the horse, ox, camel and others—they are created to be useful. In like manner the law of labor is imposed on man. It is decreed that in the sweat of his brow he shall earn his bread. The same law also obtains in reference to spiritual things. The Bible says: "Go ye into the vineyard and work; why stand ye here all the day idle? Be diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." We hold, then, that the spirit of true religion is a spirit of industry, and that in proportion as a people are quickened and controlled by the vital power of the gospel, they will cease to be indolent and idle, and devote themselves to the active exertion of their mental, moral and physical faculties and energies.

Industry is not confined to the sphere of manual labor, but is equally demanded in all departments of human affairs. It is necessary on the part of civil rulers and statesmen; the managers of banks, railroads, and other large corporations and business interests; the professional man, such as the lawyer, the physician, instructor of youth, and minister of the gospel; the editor, author, man of letters and science. In civilized society there is an endless diversity of pursuits, with a corresponding division of labor, and the important desideratum is, that everybody should be engaged in active, useful employment.

Labor is necessary to virtue. All history proves that an idle, lazy people are vicious, licentious, and debased. The characteristics of Sodom were pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, leading to all manner of sinful abominations. The

present population of the islands of Jamaica and Hayti exhibit the same combination of indolence and degradation. It is a well-established principle that industry, in all climates and states of society, is indispensable to the existence of virtue. It is an old proverb that "an idle brain is the devil's workshop."

Labor, too, is the principal, and, we may almost say, the only source of wealth or temporal prosperity. The gold and minerals hid in the bowels of the earth are of no value until labor draws them out, and even then they become valuable chiefly because they are adapted to pay for the products of other kinds of labor. It is the labor bestowed upon the cotton fields of the South that enables this section to sell an annual crop to the value of \$150,000,000 or more, while the labor of the North and of England doubles or trebles the value of the raw material by converting it into manufactured goods. It is estimated that England pays for a year's supply of cotton from this country \$130,000,000, which she works up and resells for \$430,000,000, making a profit of \$300,000,000 as the reward of her industry. Only let a people practice this virtue, and it will be to them a mine of wealth richer than the gold fields of California or Australia.

So, also, labor alone can produce great results, splendid and durable works of any kind. The classical writings of antiquity, the great poems and scientific researches and discoveries of modern times, the most admired fruits of the intellect in art and letters in all ages, have been due to diligence and industry as much as to genius. Horace laid it down as a maxim that there can be nothing great without labor. It is the measure of value. Elaborate a thing and you impart to it elements of worth.

Religion stirs up and fosters a *spirit of enterprise*. Individuals or a people may be industrious without being distinguished for enterprise. They may plod on with diligence in the old beaten paths of their fathers, without inquiring after new and undeveloped fields of employment and sources of prosperity, or boldly adventuring into them. As we contemplate the fertile soil, extensive minerals, and vast water power of the South, who can be blind to the fact that there is a great demand, as well as a wide field, for enterprise, in the development of her natural resources? Look, for example, at Alabama. The Honorable Mr. Curry, in presenting to the President of the Congress of the Confederate States of America an ink stand, manufactured from native marble, said: "It may not be deemed improper, in this connection, to state, that while Alabama is the first cotton-producing country in the world, agriculture is not her sole reliance. Immense water power abounds, which can be cheaply and profitably applied to machinery. No equal area of the earth's surface, probably, combines a greater variety and extent of valuable minerals than that portion of Alabama lying between the Tennessee river and a line of latitude drawn thirty miles north of Montgomery. Besides slate, sandstone, soapstone, flag stones, porcelain clay, granite,

gold, copper, lead, manganese and tripoli, there is iron ore inexhaustible in quantity, and equal, if not superior, to any in North America. Bituminous coal, of the richest formation, cropping out on the surface or embowelled in the earth, covers an area of hundreds of square miles. Limestone, sufficient for the world's wants, exists in various localities, and Alabama lime is displacing the Northern, and furnishing a lucrative trade. Marble—white, black and variegated—invites the touch of genius and enterprise to spring forth into imperishable statues or architectural decorations of the rarest beauty. Rather may it ever be applied to purposes of peace and science than furnish monuments for war and tyranny."

There is, also, the same need of enterprise in respect to the cultivation of the intellectual and moral wastes that lie around us, and which may find ample scope for employment in providing systems of common schools, establishing churches, and supplying all necessary advantages of an educational and religious character. The gospel imperiously demands that we cherish enlarged views, and a bold, adventurous enterprising spirit, that will display itself in promoting and building up the interests—material, intellectual and spiritual—of the region in which we dwell.

The spirit of religion is favorable to the *mechanic arts, manufactures and internal improvements*. A high state of civilization implies good roads and means of inter-communication, the presence of skilful mechanics and artists, and the manufacture of at least a portion of the articles used by the people. A barbarous people, on the other hand, have no roads, no internal improvements, no inventive talent or mechanical skill, no manufactures worthy of the name. Bowen, speaking of the negroes of Central Africa, says: "Notwithstanding the various hereditary little arts which they practice, I am ready to doubt whether they have made a single invention in a thousand years. They have never thought of a plough, though their manner of cultivating the soil requires it to be well and deeply stirred. Sometimes their farms are ten or even twenty miles from town, yet they bring in their crops in baskets on their heads, and have never dreamed of such a thing as a cart, or even a slide or sledge. I have frequently seen cripples, but no one could invent a crutch. A pair which I had made for one of my boys, who was accidentally crippled, filled them with astonishment. Chairs, tables, bedsteads, and the like, were regarded with equal wonder." Under the stimulating influence of Christianity, favoring the advancement of a people in civilization, the mechanic arts, manufactures and improvements of every kind ought to flourish. Indeed there is such a quickening, expanding power in the religion of Christ, that it tends to make men inventive and skilful, as well as industrious and enterprising. This is proven by George Guess, an Indian, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. The desire awakened by the gospel, that his people should be able to read the Bible in their own tongue, led

him to invent a written language for them. Every community should put a high estimate on its mechanics, and foster mechanical and manufacturing labor and skill.

In the minds of some Christians there is a jealousy of the fine arts and of natural science, as if they were antagonistic to the gospel. But no such antagonism exists. The religion of Christ favors the prosecution and study of science in all her departments, including astronomy, geology, botany, chemistry, mineralogy, every branch of zoology or animated beings—beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles and insects—ethnology, physiology, mental and moral philosophy. It also favors the cultivation of polite literature and the fine arts—poetry, eloquence, music, painting, sculpture and architecture. These arts, for the last thousand years, have drawn their inspiration from Christianity; and those who have displayed the loftiest genius, and attained the highest distinction in the practice of them, have wrought under the influence of sentiments and feelings founded in religion. The greatest poem of Italy is the "Vision" of Dante, which is a description of an imaginary tour through hell, purgatory and paradise, and of what he saw, and embraces the theology of the age in which he lived. The greatest epic of England is "Paradise Lost," devoted to the revolt of Satan and the fall of man, and abounding with scriptural ideas. Neither of these works could have been written without the Bible. The Scripture, itself, contains the sublimest, most beautiful, thrilling and affecting specimens both of poetry and eloquence, and no one can rise to the highest strains and flights of poetical and oratorical effort, who does not drink deeply at this Divine fountain, and imbibe the spirit and fire that breathe through its pages. Music was much cultivated among the Jews, particularly in the time of David, the royal harper and sweet singer of Israel, and there never was a more magnificent edifice, a finer specimen of architecture than the Temple of Solomon.

Religion is the friend and patron of *popular education*. It favors the diffusion of knowledge among the masses, and just in proportion as the gospel becomes practically influential, it will lead to the establishment and maintenance of common schools, as well as higher institutions of learning. Christianity, in its purity and power, cannot tolerate ignorance any more than the sun can tolerate darkness. It will dissipate it, and fill the popular mind with knowledge, as surely as the king of day dispenses the shades of night.

But the great design of religion is, *to purify the character and regulate the morals of mankind*. It aims to renew the heart, uproot and destroy the love of sin, cause a renunciation of all vicious, ungodly, immoral and disorderly deeds, habits, customs, practices and ways, and to render men pious, virtuous, moral, upright, honest, truthful, sober, just, good, meek, patient, forgiving, brave, kind, gentle, courteous. Its influence is, to set society free from

the evils that spring from irreligion and lawlessness, lust and hate, and the various corrupt passions of the heart, and to bind it together with the bonds of reverence for God, submission to law and order, the practice of righteousness, mutual love, and the interchange of kindly words and offices. Its fundamental law is love; love God, love one another, work no ill to thy neighbor, do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you. It develops, under the regulating influence of piety, purity and innocence, the social nature and affections of man, producing all the sweet endearments of home, friendship and love; the pleasures of a refined and genial intercourse and association with others, and of a participation in such assemblages and scenes of entertainment, diversion and amusement, as the pure and heavenly spirit of the gospel does not prohibit and condemn. It seeks to establish in every heart, as controlling principles of action, the idea and love of truth, justice, honesty, integrity, rectitude, kindness and benevolence. It aims to make men ardent lovers, friends and worshippers of God, devoted to the reading of His word, to prayer and praise, the cultivation of a spirit and temper, and formation of a character to conform to His own image, the keeping of His commandments, and the extension of His truth and kingdom in the earth. Its end, in short, is, to make us Christians, disciples and followers of Jesus, who is presented as a model for the imitation of all, and whose doctrine, precepts and example constitute a perfect rule of action to persons in every condition and relation of life.

Before closing, it is necessary to guard against an abuse of the view presented. When it is said that religion is favorable to temporal prosperity, and sanctions industry, enterprise and improvement, there is danger that a person will be stimulated to increased ardor in secular pursuits while he neglects heavenly things. But such an effect is unwarranted. In order to reach the ends which religion proposes, we must pursue the order and method of the gospel itself. One of these ends is, improvement and happiness in our temporal condition. But the Bible does not teach us to seek this end directly or independently of higher objects of a spiritual and eternal nature. On the contrary, it commands us to give the preference in all our thoughts, desires, plans, labors and undertakings to the performance of God's will and the enjoyment of spiritual good; and, as a subordinate end, pay attention to interests and affairs of a secular and worldly character. "Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

We also see that the great want of society, and an object of Christian aspiration and hope, is a high civilization based upon Christian principles and animated with a religious spirit. It is sad to reflect on the evils that mar the existing civilization of the world. Walk along the streets of a great city, and while you gaze with astonishment and admiration on marble palaces, splen-

did churches and edifices devoted to commerce, art and charity, yet you know there are innumerable haunts of vice diffused among them, which send forth their streams of pollution and death. The magnificent hotel system of the present day involves an evil, in that the servants and employees are kept busy on the Sabbath, and, in a great measure, prevented from attending church. What splendid features of civilization are the railroad and steamboat; yet in too many cases the holy stillness of the Lord's day is disturbed by the puff of the steamer and the whistle of the locomotive. What is needed is civilization, with all its advantages and means of happiness, its charms and decorations, not divorced from, but allied with, pure religion. "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people."

Finally, we should each labor to help forward the world's progress, and prepare the way for the millennium. The Bible foretells a period and state of things in the coming history of mankind, of a most glorious and blissful character. It will be an era of universal knowledge and intelligence, godliness and piety, justice and righteousness, love and peace, and of unbounded temporal prosperity. The arts of peace will be cultivated, and shall flourish in a very high degree, both in a moral and intellectual sense; and as to its physical aspects, the wilderness of the world shall be changed into a fruitful field, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Rivers of gladness water all the earth,
And clothe all climes with beauty.

Let us, to the full extent of our power, aid in promoting the great work of redemption, progress and improvement, that is destined to such a happy and glorious consummation.

ART. XIV.—FLORIDA.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF FLORIDA; ITS CLIMATE, METEOROLOGY, FACE OF THE COUNTRY, SOIL, PRODUCTIONS—NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL; ITS GEOLOGY, MINERALOGY, FLORA AND ZOOLOGY; ITS RIVERS AND RAILWAYS; ITS GENERAL RESOURCES, AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL, EXISTING AND PROSPECTIVE, ETC., ETC.

ON our rich lands fevers prevail, but not of so aggravated a type, nor so common as on similar localities in the older States (except chills and fevers).

There is more health upon the poor than upon the rich lands, although not altogether free from chills and fevers.

On the rolling lands (which include most of the best lands) those who live on hill-tops have the worst health, because such are exposed to all the sudden changes of temperature; but those who reside on the south-west sides of uncleared hills enjoy much better health than those who live on hill-tops, because these are

protected from the chilling influence of the east and north-east winds. Those who live on the flat pine lands, enjoy the best health. Here there is but little cleared land; the water is good, and the pines purify and separate the carbon of the atmosphere. The temperature is very variable, at times undergoing a change of as many as thirty-four degrees Fahrenheit in the course of fourteen hours. This fact is, of itself, enough to account for the origin of most of the diseases incident to this climate.

It is but seldom that we have frost. Then the ice seldom exceeds the eighth of an inch in thickness. At this point it is very destructive to young vegetation, because it comes very suddenly, finds young plants in a very succulent state; the circulation is stopped, and death ensues.

There are but two instances on record where the mercury reached 97 deg. in the shade; but there are several cases on record where it reached 96 deg.

I will now give you an example of how it stood during a part of last July, viz: 16th, 95 deg.; 17th, 94 deg.; 18th, 96 deg.; 19th, 95 deg.; 20th, 94 deg.; 21st, 92 deg.; 22d, 91 deg.; 23d, 93 deg.; 24th, 95 deg.; 25th, 95 deg.; 26th, 96 deg.; 27th, 96 deg.; 28th, 95 deg.; 29th, 80 deg.; 30th, 83 deg.

On the 18th of July, in the exposure at five o'clock P. M., the mercury soon ascended to the extraordinary height of 144 deg. Fahrenheit. I am not aware that there is any record of such a long-continued high temperature as that I have just exhibited to you. Generally three or four days terminate the extremes of either heat or cold in the South.

During the day the wind blows briskly, gently fans objects heated by the sun's rays, and renders the heat rather pleasantly endurable. When the mercury rises to 94 deg., and above, the nights become very disagreeable, such as you had them at Newberry, S. C., last summer. It is but on a few days in each year that the mercury passes 92 deg.; at all temperatures below that our nights are exceedingly pleasant, inducing sound sleep, with but few dreams.

Our wet season sets in generally between the 15th of June and the 15th of July, alternating, in different localities, between these two extremes; and continues five or six weeks in gentle, but mostly in heavy showers. A whole day's rain is a rare occurrence. The rest of the season is usually more dry than otherwise. The dews, particularly, in the absence of the wet season, are excessive.

These, in conjunction with our saline atmosphere, sustains the health and growth of plants much longer in dry weather than a casual observer, judging from the nature and quality of the soil, would be led to suppose.

A few hours' sun, after our heaviest rains, causes the face of the ground to appear dry. A little water during the wet season may be found running in small branches. Within a short time after

the dry season sets in, no water can be seen in the range of the rolling lands except well water, and, in a few days, small springs. The rain all percolates through the crust of the earth, then finds its way underground into subterranean branches, creeks and rivers. There it meanders beneath the surface of the ground until it disembogues at the heat of some great spring, of which there are numbers in Florida. All, or nearly all, of these are navigable by small craft to their very sources. All of these reflect in the sun's rays most brilliantly, exhibiting all the colors of the rainbow. This phenomena is occasioned by the bottom of the spring being composed of carbonate of lime.

If there is any perfectly healthy spot in Florida this is it. The site of the village, and the country surrounding it, are covered with a heavy growth of pitch pine. The land is considered somewhat unproductive. The spring is strongly impregnated with sulphurated hydrogen, chloride of lime, and probably other elements. Persons drink of it and bathe in it. Its taste is disagreeable at first, but after using it awhile it comes to be liked. For all complaints for the cure of which such water is adapted its effects are very marked. The boil is situate in the centre of the spring, where it is about ten feet deep, whence the bottom gradually slopes off to the shore. I suppose it is large enough to afford bathing room to one hundred persons. The quantity of the water discharged, I suppose, would be sufficient to turn two over-shot wheels. The water is remarkably transparent. The spring is resorted to in summer by planters and others on account of health and society, and in winter by invalids from various quarters. For their accommodation there is a boarding house large enough to accommodate about one hundred persons. There is but one church here, belonging to the Methodists, built and presented to them by Col. Pearson, a wealthy merchant of the place, and must have cost him a considerable sum. This is spending money in the proper way. Service is held in it by the Methodists regularly twice a month. On other Sabbaths, if an orthodox divine comes this way, he is invited to fill the pulpit. The only school we have is kept in this church.

There is but one store where merchandize is sold—that is owned by Col. Pearson.

We have been receiving the north-east mails twice a week—now we are cut down to once a week. This village contains about two hundred and fifty inhabitants of all ages and complexions. A more orderly community I have never been amongst. Profane swearing, filthy language, rioting and drunkenness are but seldom witnessed. In their stead, the people practice brotherly love, charity and generous hospitality, etc., etc.

The air is very pure. The sulphureous and saline elements, with which it is impregnated, tend to neutralize the noxious vapors which the winds waft this way.

The vapors which arise from this spring strike the olfactory nerves several miles off.

There are hundreds of mineral springs scattered over Florida, variously compounded and variously adapted. This spring is situated under the 29th deg. of north latitude. It is on the northern margin of Marion county, on Orange creek, which drains the lake of that name, and at this place is the dividing line between Marion and Putnam counties. This creek joins the Oclawahaw river at a point over a mile east of us. We are twenty-five miles, by the mail route, from Palatka, on the St. John's, and thirty miles by the same route from Ocala, the county seat of Marion. The Oclawahaw river falls into the St. John's river about twenty-five miles east of us, and is navigable by small steamers and barges as high up as Lake Griffin to the south, and to the mouth of Silver Springs to the west. The whole country around the spring abounds with clear, fresh water lakes, some of them very beautiful sheets of water. Great Orange lake is distant from the springs about eight miles. All are well supplied with a variety of fish, as are the creeks and rivers. The land around us is inferior. It is true there are but a few small tracts of pretty good land. It is more thickly settled than one would suppose, judging from the nature of the soil and the appearance of the country. It is very flat; in wet weather mostly covered with water, yet those who live on it enjoy tolerably good health. It is a pretty good stock growing region, extremely productive of sweet potatoes, cow peas and ground nuts, and in spots, when the weather is favorable, will produce good corn. I know no part of the world better adapted to the habits of a lazy man, whose sole dependence is sweet potatoes, cow peas, ground nuts, and a little corn. In the way of flesh, they have beef, pork, also, game and fish. Men would say all these constitute substantial living—all true, yet they can be obtained with very little labor, besides enjoying all the privileges and immunities of squatter sovereignty. There are but very small portions of Florida over twenty miles from the seaboard without navigable rivers and railroads. When the railroads, now under contract, shall be completed, the means of transportation will be greatly increased, distance shortened, and time and expense saved.

The railroad connecting Fernandina and Cedar Keys is promised to be completed by the first of January next; length, one hundred and forty miles.

There is another railroad under way, commencing at Jacksonville, on the St. John's river, the lower part of which is in use. This road will pass Tallahassee, and thence to Pensacola, and will be about two hundred and fifty miles long.

Another road is constructing, which diverges from the Fernandina and Cedar Keys road, about twenty-two miles from this place, and is nearly graded to within five miles of us, the nearest point to which it will come. I suppose the engines will be put

upon this section by the first of June next (1860). By that time, it is alleged, that it will be graded twenty-five miles further, which will bring the grading to Ocala, the county seat of Marion county; and subsequently to Tampa bay, one hundred and ten miles further, which will be its terminus. The people of Tampa have organized a company to meet this company higher up; then the road will be worked upon at each end.

Another short road is under contract to connect Picolata, on the St. John's, with St. Augustine, on the Atlantic, which, it is supposed, will be completed by the first of July, 1862. This road is fifteen miles long.

To construct all these roads, the Federal Government has appropriated and set apart lands, which, if valued at one dollar per acre, will be quite sufficient for all the railroads that may hereafter be constructed.

When the road shall be completed to near this place, I will have it in my power to visit Newberry, S. C., in thirty hours (travelling time); and when the Fernandina and Cedar Keys road shall have been finished and fairly under way, it is believed the mails will be carried from New York to New Orleans in the course of three and a half days.

The St. John's river is navigable by steamers or by any vessel which can cross the bar, as high up as Lake Jessup, and much farther by barges. The St. Mary's, Suwannee, Apalachicola—these, and others, are navigable into Georgia and into Alabama. Nearly all the rivers on the Gulf side of the isthmus are navigable some distance into the interior. The natural inference is, that when the artificial improvements shall have been finished and added to the natural channels of conveyance, the country will possess great facilities of egress and ingress to and from any point on the globe.

The agricultural products are :

1. Indian corn—to the production of which the soil of Florida is not well adapted. I have heard reports of forty or fifty bushels to the acre. As good a crop, grown on as good lands as I have ever seen in Florida, did not average more than twenty-five bushels to the acre. Ten or fifteen bushels to the acre may be considered a fair general average. I have some doubts whether wheat or barley will grow well.

2. Rye, on good land, does well; also,

3. Oats—but these are not so heavy as with you.

4. Long Cotton—is rather an uncertain crop, it has so many enemies to contend with; besides, it takes a full year to get a crop ready for market. If eight hundred pounds of clean cotton are made to the hand, it is considered a fair crop. One thousand pounds have been made to the hand. I have no doubt one thousand two hundred pounds have been grown to the hand in a few instances, but help had to be got to pick it. To grow one thousand pounds of clean cotton, with corn, potatoes and fodder enough,

will require about as close a year's work as master and servants have any need for.

5. Our planters are experimenting on short cotton this year, but it is too soon to speculate upon the result.

6. Sugar cane does well on hammock land. It is a much surer crop than cotton, and pays better. The flavor of the sugar is equal to the flavor of Jamaica sugar, and the quality of the syrup and molasses unsurpassed. It is a healthful culture, and can be used all the year round, and "tastes sweet all the time." It will not be long before it becomes one of our greatest staples. Nothing has hitherto prevented planters from its extensive production but the lack of capital and facilities of transportation.

7. Fruit culture has been but little attended to, as is the case generally in newly-settled countries. Some have been giving their attention to this department. The result has been highly encouraging. So far as the peach is concerned, there is but one opinion, *i. e.*, that our peaches surpass any peaches raised elsewhere. This result has taken place while simply letting the trees alone—a mode I do not approve. From the experiments that others and myself have made, I have reached the conclusion that all fruit will do well that is generally adapted to such soil and climate as ours. We have a great variety of soil here.

8. With respect to kitchen garden culture (where other things are equal), I have seen the most rapid, prolific and well-flavored growth that I have ever beheld. Garden productions can be had fresh throughout the whole year, if time and circumstances are properly attended to. I must say that this very useful department of rural economy is most unreasonably neglected.

9. The floral department, in relation to progress, runs parallel with the above. Some good examples are set, and, in a short time, we may reasonably hope for many copyists.

10. The timber of Florida is worth more than would pay for the land, and leave a handsome margin for the getting it in order, and all the expenses for sending it to market.

You can form no idea of the value of our pitch pines, live oaks, white oaks, cypress, &c. I doubt whether any part of the world cans how such a magnificent forest of pines—five hundred miles long by one hundred miles wide.

11. Turpentine, alone, will, in one year, pay for all the land the pines grow upon from which it is extracted; and, in addition, pay those engaged in it a fair compensation for their labor. It is now manufactured to some extent. The experiment, so far, has been very encouraging. Thousands are anxiously waiting the result. If favorable, a rush will be made from the lowlands of North Carolina to where cheaper and far better pines can be had than at home, where they have almost bled them to death. In a short time naval stores will become a very heavy item of export, and very profitable to those engaged in it. Another consideration is, that it is a very healthy business, affording employment to those

of tender age, to the old and to the decrepid, as well as to the young and the robust.

12. Also, the fruit and vegetable productions of the country will, before long, furnish considerable items of export.

13. The moss of Florida is worth much, and would be worth much more if it was properly attended to. It is now the negro crop. It is just "seen to" in the way this class of persons attend to the crops generally.

14. The export of fat cattle is very large, and the home consumption larger. Beef is a staple article of food in Florida. I have no means of making up an exact opinion of the number of beef cattle sent abroad. I judge it must be pretty considerable from the fact that I heard of some stock owners selling four or five hundred head a year. The usual price is \$12.50 a head, delivered at the cow pen.

15. The arrow root and cassava do well here—if attended to would pay well.

The sea coast abounds in a variety of excellent fish; but people are too indolent to do much in this department. Yankees come by sea, and do a profitable business by carrying fish to Cuba for the Cubans to *fast upon* in time of Lent.

In Florida we have two springs in each year. The first comes at the usual time, during which it is difficult to get a good stand of anything you sow. The nights are cold, while the days are comparatively warm, and the weather very variable. The sudden changes of temperature are very deleterious to young organic life. When the temperature becomes more uniform vegetation proceeds with rapid pace. This is the second spring. About the beginning of summer the dry season sets in. If it continues long the corn crop is measurably cut off, together with other crops, which require repeated rains. During this time the growth of cotton is somewhat retarded, which is no advantage. In the course of five or six weeks the wet season sets in. Late corn is benefited, and cotton grows rapidly in every way. Potato vines, cow peas and garden seeds may be sown, young trees set out, scions grafted and proper sorts budded, with as much success as in the early spring. Most of the trees put forth new buds. Shrubs, grasses and wild plants are similarly affected.

Most of the State may be called flat, but a small portion of it is undulating. A great portion of it is covered with water during the wet season. There are large ranges of swamps and extensive everglades. The comparative estimate is, that one-tenth of the superficies of Florida is now in a condition for profitable cultivation.

The condition of agriculture is the same here, with few exceptions, as it was in your State about twenty years ago, ruinously destructive to the land, and would, in time, if unreformed, become equally so to the owners. This state of things, however, will not, I hope, long continue here. Most of our best lands are falling

into the hands of wealthy, intelligent planters. These are introducing new implements and new experiments. This is the commencement of a new era; but "the end is not yet." So soon as the channels of travels and conveyance shall have been completely opened to the sea coast, then more new elements of export will be developed, new implements of husbandry and machinery will be introduced, the arts, sciences, commerce and agriculture will flourish. Then shall Florida "put on her beautiful garments," and the whole peninsula "bud and blossom as the rose."

The flora of this State is extremely rich and beautiful, but its history has been only partially written. Every succeeding month in our year opens a new leaf, full of floral beauty. No one has scented its classic odors but Bartram, of Philadelphia, who wrote and published the "Botany of East Florida," about seventy-two years ago. At the time of his publication, it was regarded of sterling excellence, so far as he had explored this wide field. His book is out of print, a second edition not having been called for.

The ornithology of Florida has been ably explored by Audubon. Dr. B. Romans, about the same time that Bartram wrote his floral description of East Florida, published a book, which enumerated the diseases of Florida, referring to the manner of treatment, and many "matters and things" relating to the country generally, some of which are rather fanciful. He also devoted a chapter or two to its geology and mineralogy. Judging from the quotations I have seen taken from this book, and the infancy of these branches at the time he wrote it, I suspect that the present generation loses precious little by the absence of its circulation.

The geology of the State is exceedingly rich and quite varied, and, so far as I am informed, remains an unexplored field. I have been looking after this matter as well as I could. So far I have discovered grounds for an opinion that the whole State was formed whilst covered with water. There are evidences of three submergents; that is to say, three stratified formations, each one differing materially from the others in the elements of which it is composed. I will simply enumerate most of the specimens of which the surface of the earth is composed, in the order of superposition in which they lie:

1st. Carbonate of lime, in variety; some of it an excellent building material, and yields easily to the hammer, chisel and polish.

2d. Quartzose shell rock.

3d. Hornstone.

4th. Hornblende.

5th. Phonolite, or clinkstone.

6th. Iron-claystone.

7th. Claystone.

8th. Marl, in variety.

9th. Twelve or more varieties of argil, beginning with the coarsest, and ending with the fine kaolin or porcelain clay.

There are numerous organic remains here, particularly of the crustaceous family.

Of extinct land animals remains have been found. Last month, two gentlemen of this place found some very large teeth in our river, which I take to be the teeth of the mastodon (Gr. M.) I have picked up a few quartzose crystals. I have met with but few minerals.

Thus you must see that the means of improving land are equal to those of any other region on the globe, viz.: lime, marl, a variety of argil, silica, humus, in abundance, and an excessive vegetation. These are accessible to all. Skilfully combined, compost can be formed, adapted to any land—to make poor land rich and to keep it so.

The facilities of conveyance—the natural productions of the soil—the varied restoratives—the capacity of her soil for various productions—and her fisheries, etc., all these must, ere long, make Florida one of the most wealthy States in the Confederacy, as she is now one of the richest in natural resources.

In regard to its healthfulness for the whole year, I suppose it will favorably compare with most of the other States.

The climate has a very deleterious effect upon timber. The reason, I suppose, is this: In the wet season, the sun, in the intervals when it shines, opens the wood, and the moisture fills the spaces. In the dry season, the dews are excessively heavy; their effect is the same upon the timber as that of the rain in the wet season; so that it is alternately wet and dry the whole time. Hence its rapid decay.

Wild animals are numerous. I will enumerate most of them, viz.: deer, bears, wolves, tigers, racoons, foxes, opossums, squirrels, wild cats, skunks, rabbits; pouched, field, house and water rats; mice, etc.; fish in vast variety; wild fowls in vast variety; reptiles, etc., cannot be numbered.

The educational funds of the State are considered ample for the objects contemplated; but, unfortunately, they are often inappropriately disposed of. Where there are any schools located, those selected to teach them are not unfrequently deficient in many of the qualifications necessary for that purpose. To this sweeping charge there are praiseworthy exceptions.

The state of religion and morals is healthier than is generally to be found in newly settled regions.

It is true that there are some scapegraces here, who, by their lawless violence, impart a suspicious character to the people of Florida. These are gradually being driven off by self-constituted tribunals, denominated "Regulators." To such organizations, however, whatever may be their temporary appearance of doing good, I cannot conscientiously give my approval. The most numerous sects of Florida are the Methodists and Baptists; the Presbyte-

rians next; then the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians. The last two are small in number.

I can promise to make but a few brief remarks upon the bench and the bar. Of the former I may be permitted to say, that I suppose they will compare pretty well with judges elsewhere who are chosen by the people. With regard to the latter, it may be said that they are not sufficient in natural and acquired abilities. They may be regarded as holding a respectable rank for a new country. Indeed, they have but little stimulus to urge them on, and but little ahead to inspire diligence.

From what I have heard and seen, our elections are characterized by order and decorum. I wish so much could be said in behalf of elections in some of the older States.

ART. XV.—NEGRO FREEDOM AN IMPOSSIBILITY UNDER NATURE'S LAWS.*

THE REPUBLICAN CAUCASIANS OF AMERICA THE NATURAL MASTERS AND GUARDIANS OF NIGRATIONS.

[The following original contribution from the pen of Dr. Cartwright, of New Orleans, will be read with interest, whether or not the reader concur in the peculiar and, as some may think, eccentric notions of the author. His long and well established scientific reputation entitles him to be heard in all circles. He has, perhaps, more than any other man investigated the characteristics, physical and moral, of the negro—and has at various times published treatises which have been widely read. Neither in his case, or that of other contributors, are we to be supposed as endorsing the views which are presented, unless the contrary is stated by us. We neither affirm or deny, but leave the whole matter with the reader.—ED.]

THERE are no free negroes in the Northern States, Canadas, the West Indies or Africa. They are all in the service of Satan when deprived of the guardianship of the white man. In Sierra Leone and Liberia they have more white guardians to protect them from Satan than the negroes of Louisiana have.

A few weeks ago, in an article on feticism and serpent worshipping, I announced the existence of a law of nature compelling the negro to be the slave of man or the slave of the serpent, a fetic, or some other embodiment of the evil spirit, known as Satan or the devil. I endeavored to prove that the Caucasian and Nigritian races hold similar relations to each other as potassium and oxygen. The one possessing a positive electric energy and

* "Moreau de St. Mery's History of French St. Domingo." 2 vols., quarto: Philadelphia, 1789. "Gustave D'Alaux, Emperor Solouque." Michael Levy et Teres: Paris, 1856. "Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales." Vol. 60. Article L'Homme: Paris, Panckoucke, Editor, 1822. "Trade and Travels in the Gulf of Guinea," by J. Smith: London, Simpkin & Marshal, 1851. "Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences." Vol. 18. Thomas Dobson: Philadelphia, 1778. "Burton's Eastern Africa." Harper & Brothers: New York, 1860. "D'une Nouvelle Theorie sur L'esclavage," by H. Vignaud: New Orleans, 1861. "Discourse of Rev. Dr. Palmer on Thanksgiving Day," New Orleans, 1861. "Lectures of Rufus Waples, Esq., before the Academy of Sciences, on the Negro and Serpent." New Orleans, 1861.

the other negative. Nothing can change these relations in either case. Facts prove that potassium, under all circumstances, is positive in regard to oxygen, and that the Caucasian is no less so in regard to the Nigritian when the two are brought in juxtaposition. It was also announced at the same time, that the serpent is positive in regard to the negro, but that its power is relative—not absolute as that of the white man over the Nigritian. The empire of the serpent over the Nigritian tribes is abrogated and reversed by the presence of the white man with the whip, as effectually as the positive electric power of copper over tin is abrogated and reversed by the presence of ammonia in the galvanic apparatus. Moreau de Saint Mery, in his history of St. Domingo, cites a number of instances amply sufficient to prove that the serpent and negro are united together by mystic ties. The precise nature of the sympathies existing between them he does not attempt to explain, but supposes that they are magnetic. His facts show, as well as some lately adduced by lawyer Waples of this city, the sting of the serpent is supposed to be positive and the negro negative. Moreau de Saint Mery also proves that the magnetic empire of the serpent over the negro is instantly abrogated by the approach of the white man with the whip. The historian declares that the involuntary gyrations, spasms, convulsions and howlings witnessed in the orgies of the serpent worshippers instantly cease when the white man makes his appearance with the symbol of authority. With Nigritians the display of the whip has a similar mystic power over them that the display of the national banner has over Caucasians. There is a difference between the possession of power and the exercise of that power. The exercise of the white man's positive power in abrogating the empire of the serpent, a fetish, the whiskey bottle, or any other embodiment of an evil spirit or influence over the negro, has been beautifully expressed by the phrase, "*bruising the head of the serpent.*" The evils of a failure to exercise that power are summed up in the expression, "*bruising the heel.*" The spiritual sense of that remarkable verse of the Pentateuch, so far from being marred, disfigured or altered, is rendered more clear and intelligible by giving to the language used a literal, as well as a spiritual signification. Commentators and theologians have not been able to perceive any literal sense in that highly important text, owing to their inacquaintance with the negro character and the physical law now under consideration. Indeed, the spiritual sense, they so correctly gave to it, lost much of its force for the want of a literal sense to stand on. We are informed by the great historian, Moreau de Saint Mery, that when the white man approached an assembly of serpent-worshippers and chose to exercise his authority, the demoniacal orgies instantly ceased, and that the influence of the serpent over the idolators was brought to a speedy terminus. In other words, when he chose to exercise his trust of guardian over a race of people, "every attribute of

whose character," to use the beautiful and expressive language of the Rev. Dr. Palmer, "fits them for dependence and servitude," "he bruised the head of the serpent;" but if he neglected his duty and did not exercise his trust of guardian over them, and let himself down from his high mission of guardian and protector to an equality with them, that he, too, would be drawn under the influence of the ophite god, and would be afflicted with similar gyrations of an involuntary kind as the negroes themselves. The historians give instances of white people, associating with Africans on terms of equality, being afflicted like them with uncontrollable convulsions, gyrations and howlings; thus demonstrating the power of the serpent "*to bruise the heel.*" It is not necessary, however, to go so far back as the events recorded by Moreau de Saint Mery to get positive evidence to the same effect.

The daily journals of New Orleans have, from time to time, published instances, some of them as late as last October, of the white man, armed with the whip, or with authority of which the whip is the emblem, speedily destroying the influence of the serpent over assemblies engaged in the mystic rites of the Vandoua in and near this city. In nearly all such assemblies, a few debased white persons, who had let themselves down to an equality with the negro race, were found among the idolators of the ophite reptile, and like them, its slave. The worship of the serpent, under the name of Vandoua, was introduced into New Orleans and the older parishes of Louisiana at a very early period by imported Africans. In some of the parishes a considerable number of the dark skin immigrants, from the South of Europe, affiliated so far with the Africans as practically to disregard, in a great degree, the natural distinctions of race. Many turned from the worship of the true God and became the idolators of the serpent. Their heel has been sadly bruised thereby, as they have made no progress in civilization. They have retrograded instead of advanced. Idolators are unimprovable. The unimprovable Creoles of Louisiana are not the Creoles generally, but only that portion of them who have been chained by their master, the serpent, whom they worship in the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

During the present month I received a letter from an intelligent physician, of unimpeachable veracity, who practiced medicine many years in the parish of St. Lunday, D. A. G. Thornton, an esteemed friend of Judge Overton, of Opelousas. He took exceptions to the doctrines advanced in my last lecture on Feticism and Serpent Worshipping, and enumerated a number of facts which had fallen under his own observation, calculated, as he supposed, to overthrow instead of strengthening it. His facts went to show that, in a circuit of eighty miles, in that region of Louisiana, there are many non progressive settlements, in which serpent worshipping is not confined to the negro population, but is even prevalent among the Creoles of the white race. "Many of the

French Creoles," he says, "worship the snake." "They believe only in the snake as God." "They are an exceedingly ignorant people." "They transport that reptile in gourds, and profess to talk to it and find out their enemies through its means, and to learn from it how to punish them." "No one who has not lived among them could ever dream of such ignorance and degraded habits."

The Rev. Dr. Palmer, of this city, in an admirable discourse delivered on Thanksgiving Day, took the position, that "the colored race among us had, under the Providence of God, been confided to American freemen in trust, and to fulfil that trust the institution of domestic slavery, as now existing, is absolutely essential," and "that for us, as now situated, the duty is plain of possessing and transmitting it with the freest scope for its natural development and extension."

"We should at once," says the Rev. Doctor, "lift ourselves intelligently to the highest moral ground, and proclaim to all the world that we hold our trust from God." "We will stand by our trust, and God be with the right." "The argument which enforces this providential trust is simple and condensed." "The duty of maintaining it is bound upon us as the constituted guardians of the slaves themselves." "*We know better than others that every attribute of their character fits them for dependence and servitude.*" "No calamity can befall them greater than the loss of that protection they enjoy under our patriarchal system. Indeed, the experiment has been grandly tried of precipitating upon them freedom, and the dismal results are before us in statistics that astonish the world. With the fairest portions of the earth in their possession, and with the advantage of long discipline as cultivators of the soil, their constitutional indolence has converted the most beautiful islands of the sea into a howling waste." "They call upon us, their providential guardians, to be protected." "I know," says the reverend gentleman, "that this argument will be scoffed abroad as the hypocritical cover thrown over our own cupidity and selfishness, but every Southern master knows its truth and feels its power." It would not be scoffed abroad if the Christian world could be made to see clearly the momentous truth, *that the negro must, from necessity, be the slave of man or the slave of Satan.*

That "every attribute of character which fits them for dependence and servitude and unfits them for freedom," is the result of the physical law under consideration. The negatively elective energy of the Nigritian race makes them the slaves of the despot or some other fetish or evil influence when not under the supervisory care and guardianship of the positively elective republican Caucasians, their natural masters. The framers of the Constitution of the United States, like the Rev. Dr. Palmer, saw that every attribute of the negro character fitted them for dependence and servitude, but did not know why. They knew that they

were natural masters of the servile negro race, and hence, in framing the Constitution, they studiously avoided calling this natural relation *slavery*, or the negroes of the United States *slaves*, because these terms would have conveyed erroneous ideas of the institution which the negroes are subjected to in the land of republican liberty. They are *not slaves* or their government *slavery*, in the European sense of those terms, but "*persons held to service or labor*" in their normal social relation—and, consequently, are designated in the Constitution as "*persons held to service or labor*," and not as slaves. They are under a patriarchal form of government best calculated to improve their condition, add to their happiness, and develop their mental and moral faculties. There is not a slave, properly so called, either in the United States or in the Confederate States of America. The framers of the Constitution were wise in advising the common error of calling them *slaves*.

"God discerns His presence," says John Calvin, "by signs or phenomena." The framers of the Constitution were familiar with the works of Calvin, and saw in signs or phenomena, the free men of America were the natural guardians of the negroes. Neither they nor the Rev. Dr. Palmer, on looking at the subject from a moral and religious stand-point, could discover, from any signs or phenomena, the presence of God among free negroes or those who were left to themselves in Africa. If the Rev. Dr. Palmer had looked at the free negroes of the West India Islands, with the histories of Moreau de Saint Mèry and Gustave D'Alaux in hand, he would have discovered the presence of an evil spirit or influence among them in the shape of a serpent, which those of Hayti have been worshipping as a god and serving as slaves ever since they lost white masters. Whoever looks for the signs and phenomena, indicating the presence of God among the free negroes of the New England and the lake States, will find none among the negroes, while they will see many ominous phenomena indicating the rapid withdrawal of the Divine presence from the white people. Every one sees and acknowledges that the free negro himself is out of the church in those States, though his effigy has been introduced and retained in the mask of those, while he himself is an outcast, inhabiting the prisons, penitentiaries and the abodes of vice and wretchedness. But ever one does not so clearly see the ends aimed at by British policy in moving weak consciences and misdirecting sympathies in favor of a weak idol which has been the fruitful source of so much discord and schism. That the ends are sinister no one can doubt, since British judges, in obedience to that policy, have granted indulgences to negro slaves, as in the late case of the murderer Anderson, to break the sixth commandment with impunity. The Rev. Dr. Palmer, casting his eyes over the Southern States, looking for the signs and phenomena as indicating the presence of God, saw many of them scattered in and through

that normal relation of the negro to the white man called slavery, very properly concluded, "that it is an institution underlying and supporting the material interests of civilization, moral and Christian progress, and ought to be sustained and extended at all hazards by the united South, as a sacred trust confided to the Southern States for safe-keeping by an all-wise and beneficent Providence." Taking a wide and comprehensive view of the whole question, he clearly saw that the institution was *right* under the moral law; but he did not seem to be aware of the existence of a physical law, sufficiently potent to sustain the institution against the combined powers of the Northern States and Great Britain to overthrow it. He did not seem to know that there is a physical law impressed upon the black laborers "who gather the blooms upon Southern fields that feed the spindles of the looms of America and Europe," which superceded the necessity of a standing army or a police force to keep them in subjection to the government of the whip, to tie their hands that British judges had untied, against rebellion and murder. The existence of that law was first announced to the Academy of Science a few weeks ago. Its essence consists in the negatively elective energy of African negroes and the positively elective energy of the republican-American white men. Unfortunately, it was mistaken by some journalists and members of the Academy as a theory or an hypothesis, instead of a law of nature, and proof was demanded of the *quo modo* of its action.

It is proper to remind the learned editors, essayists and objectors that an hypothesis is founded upon a supposition, not proved, but assumed to account for something not understood. A theory is founded on principles well understood, but adduced to give a plausible explanation of phenomena arising from unknown causes. A physical law is a rule established by the Creator, and is restricted to express the fact that certain motives changes and relations uniformly take place under certain conditions and circumstances. Unlike an hypothesis or theory, no explanation is needed for its reception other than the facts derived from observation. In Scriptural language, physical laws are called ordinances of heaven. Many theories and hypotheses were invented to explain the phenomena of weight and the tendency of matter toward other matter, until, finally, they were all superseded by the discovery of that physical law called the attraction of gravitation, announcing the existence of the truth that every portion of matter attracts and is attracted directly as to its quantity, and indirectly as to the square of its distance from the attracting body. When first announced it was mistaken for a theory or hypothesis, because the phrase "*attraction of gravitation*" seemed to imply the existence of a medium between the bodies attracted, and proof was demanded of nature of that medium; like proof is now demanded, both by the French and English savans of New Orleans, of the nature of the medium subjecting the negro to the

white man, and when released from the white man, subjecting him to the serpent or to other evil influences. The truth that he is thus subjected rests upon the facts derived from observation, made in America and Africa, and not upon theories concocted in Europe, or upon closet demonstrations of the existence of any medium. Shortly after the announcement of the physical law, compelling the negro to be the slave of the white man, or the slave of the serpent, a very candid and able article reviewing it appeared in the French columns of the New Orleans "Bee," over the signature of that ripe scholar, H. Vignaud, Esq. Although he mistook it for a theory, instead of a physical law, he entered so fully into the animus of the lecture on Feticism and serpent worshipping, as to perceive and acknowledge the high importance of the matters discussed, and their bearings in placing the institutions of the South on an impregnable basis. He recognized, in the language announcing, "that the negro must be the slave of the white man or the slave of the serpent," that form of trope called a *synechdoche*, where a species is put for the genus. The evil spirit, or devil, which gains the mastery over the negro, when not under the protection and supervisory care of the white man, although located in the serpent, by the idolators of Guinea, Congo and Yoruba (where the ancestors of our Southern slaves were brought), finds also a habitation and home in many other natural and artificial bodies, known as fetiches now, but formerly as the idols of Canaan. M. Vignaud was too good a logician to found any argument against the law, that "*the negro must be the slave of the white man or the slave of the serpent*," upon the circumstances that all the so-called free negroes, whether in Africa or America, are not, literally speaking, the idolators of the ophite reptile. Nor did he fall, as some others did, into the error of supposing that the word *serpent* was used either metaphorically or metonymically; but that an actual ophite god was introduced to the members of the Academy as the master of a large portion of the Nigritian race abroad in the world, whether in Africa or America, who are not obeying the Divine injunction of acting in the capacity of "servant of servants" to the white man. He saw that the elliptical expression, in which the law was announced, left room to supply the ellipsis with any other substance, besides the serpent, with a body for the evil spirit (the negro's old master) to dwell in, whether in the form of an idol, an African fetic or an American whisky bottle. It is a historical truth that the high priests of the indigraious superstition of Africa have located the demon, whom they worship in Guinea, Yoruba, Congo and in Hayti, in the body of the living serpent. The serpent is not a symbol of the god of the African idolators, but the god himself in bodily presence.

Although M. Vignaud, probably, never read John Calvin, who draws a clear distinction between true religion and fanaticism,

defining the former "as a reflection of the Divine image into the soul of man, liberating it from evil and leading to a life of good and useful works; while the latter reflects back upon the soul the image of the evil propensities residing in the animal organism or flesh, blackening the heart and leading to a life of crime;" he entered so fully into the sentiments of the lecture as to perceive that so far from the doctrines contained therein being, as some of less intelligence supposed, in opposition to the Bible or the Christian religion, harmonized beautifully therewith; for he says: "*Dans l'esprit de son auteur le serpent est l'incarnation du diable.*" With his knowledge of the laws of imponderable matter, M. Vignaud seemed to recognize the possibility of the serpent being the best mirror for the negro to see himself in, and seeing himself to see his old master, Satan, and become the slave of his own sinful nature; and that the whip has been mercifully put into the hands of American republicans to be used no further than what is absolutely necessary to cast out the devil and liberate the Africans from the chains that bind them to vice and barbarism. Nothing can so effectually do that as the entirety of the positive power of the white man, under a republican Government, *who has parted with none of his sovereignty*, because the impressibility of the African character to evil influences is too great to be effectually counteracted by monarchists, or such half way freemen as the British and Spanish, or by the negro himself, and from necessity, unless he has a true democrat for his master, he becomes their slave. M. Vignaud states the doctrine in the following words: "*Le nègre est nécessairement, condamné à être ou l'esclave du serpent ou celui du blanc. L'influence qui émane du serpent est malicieuse, funeste et destructible de toute notion du bien. Celle qui émane du blanc est salutaire et essentiellement civilisatrice. Il suit de là, que sous l'action du courant électrique qui émane du serpent, le nègre s'abandonne à tous les mauvais penchants et s'enfonce dans une barbarie d'où il lui est impossible de sortir par lui-même; tenuis que sous l'action qui émane du blanc, il se relève, devient accessible à la notion du bien, et s'affranchit des liens de la barbarie pour entrer dans les voies de la civilisation.*" The establishment of the existence of such a law would put the institution of negro slavery on the highest moral and religious basis in the eyes of the world as the only possible means to liberate the African from idolatry and barbarism, and to place them on the high-road of civilization and Christianity. M. V. was so warmed by the thought of the possibility of their being such a law of nature that he wrote a very able essay upon it, and seemed very reluctant to come to the conclusion that there was a deficiency of facts to prove the existence of imponderable electric or magnetic chains tying the negro to the republican white man, or similar chains of a weaker kind tying him to other masters or to the serpent, when his republican master sets him free, as it is called, or when his master is a monarchist instead of free man, and governs his negro like kings govern

their subjects, by physical instead of moral power. No monarchist succeeds in governing negroes as republicans do. With the exception of a few Americanized Spanish subjects in Cuba, no monarchists have ever succeeded in making negroes happy and their labor profitable, because slaves themselves, they lack the moral power that republicans possess of governing negroes, as children are governed by the rod instead of the musket and bayonet. M. Vignaud asked if it were a fact, capable of demonstration, that either the serpent or the white man possessed any positive power over the negro by virtue of any magnetic or mystic influence whatever? As far as the mystic power of the white man over the Nigritian is concerned, the editor of the "Delta" answers his question. In his comments on the lecture on Feticism and serpent worshipping he declares: "*It is a fact that it is the nature of the Nigritian race to be subject to the white race when the two are brought in contact. It is a fact that this subjectivity spontaneously develops itself into what is called African slavery. It is a fact that this species of slavery has been productive of the happiest results to the subjects as well as to the dominant race.*" He ought to have added, if the white man be free himself. The learned Frenchman is respectfully referred to the same sources from which the editor of the "Delta" derived his proof of the fact. If that be not sufficient, he will find the fact doubly demonstrated, beyond all doubt or question, in a work recently published in New York, by Dr. J. H. Van Everie, entitled "Negroes and Negro Slavery—the First an Inferior Race, the Latter its Normal Condition." A work which requires only to be generally read to set the disturbing question of negro slavery at rest for ever, as far as the republican Government are concerned. In regard to the influence of the serpent over the negro, which M. Vignaud did not think was sufficiently proved, the compass of a single discourse was not sufficient to contain the evidence filling several volumes. The "History of St. Domingo," by Moreau de Saint Mery, in two large volumes, published the last century, and that of Gustave D'Alaux, entitled "L'Empereur Souhouque," published in Paris a few years ago, were exhibited to the examination of the members of the Academy, as abounding with direct proofs of the positive power exercised by the serpent over the negro, together with a manuscript letter from the Hon. C. De Blanc, Jr., estimating the number of negroes in New Orleans, under the influence of the serpent, at about one thousand. If further proof be required, beyond what all the reliable histories of Africa afford, it will be found in the lengthy lecture of that able lawyer, Rufus Waples, Esq., before the Academy of Sciences, and published in the "Sunday Delta," 17th April. He deduces many interesting facts to prove, that instead of the serpent exercising any positive electric, magnetic or mystic power over the negro, the latter exercises a positive power over the former. He states, on the evidence of a gentleman well known as occupying a high position in

New Orleans: "That he has repeatedly seen an old African approach a rattlesnake with his eyes fixed upon it, while he made a musical humming with his lips, and thus completely fascinated the snake; has seen him take up the serpent in his hands, dally with it, put it around his neck, and sport with it at pleasure, and many other residents of the city have seen the same feats performed." He might have added, that many of the present generation, and many more of the former, have seen similar feats performed; few, however, of them have had the courage to announce what they have seen to the public for fear of being discredited or ridiculed. Some three or four hundred years ago, as will be seen from examining the old encyclopædias, travellers reported that the negro huts of Africa were swarming with domesticated snakes, and that in Guinea and Congo the serpent was the God of the country. Whether, in the instances quoted by Waples, the negroes exerted a positive, electric, or controlling power over the serpent, as he supposes, or the serpents, by virtue of their positive power, influenced the negroes to handle them in the familiar manner related, is a question, whichever way decided, of minor importance. The important question is, whether the negro and serpent are tied together by electro-magnetic, or other mystic chains or not? The facts adduced by Mr. Waples are very valuable, as they prove *that they are thus tied together*—that a sympathy connects them of the most wonderful kind. It will be seen, by referring to the essay of M. Vignaud, published in French, that he quoted from a copy of the lecture on Feticism first printed, in which, from an error in the proofs, the negro was put in the *positive*, etc., and the serpent in the *negative*; precisely the relation which Mr. Waples supposes to exist between the two, instead of the relation alleged in the lecture. M. Vignaud, however, warned the reader, that this apparent contradiction, the author (myself) had made of his own doctrine, would not overthrow it, if the fact were established, that the serpent and negro were actually, as alleged, associated together by electric currents. He went into an explanation of the laws of electricity, showing how bodies, united by electrical currents, could change the relation of positive or negative toward each other. An introduction of a third substance might entirely reverse the relations. What he wanted was proof of any extraordinary sympathetic relation or affinity established by nature between the serpent and the negro. Mr. Waples has given him the proof, ample proof, if his facts be correct, of the existence of a powerful influence or affinity between them.

He brought forward a great many facts in regard to serpent worshipping, derived from ancient history. He omitted to tell his audience that the serpent worshipping among the ancients all belonged to the negro races, with the exception of one in Louisiana of a few white people of a degraded caste. The oracle, the god Adar, of the Canaanites, the pillar of which was called Abbadir,

from Ab and Adir, meaning serpent deity, was alluded to by Mr. Waples as being for ages the headquarters of the serpent worshippers. The Canaanites were negroes, as I proved nearly twenty years ago, in a monograph, published in the "Quarterly Review," of this city, October, 1842, entitled "Canaan Identified in the Ethiopian." Cush and his descendants were serpent worshippers, as proved by the historical facts collected by Mr. Waples. No language can make a man blacker than the Hebrew makes Cush.

The editor of the "Delta" begged to take, for the present, *cum grana*, the existence of any mystic influence between the serpent and the negro; but, at that time, he was not in possession of the vast amount of evidence since collected by Mr. Waples, demonstrating the existence of such an influence. Although he did not think that a failure to prove a more intimate influence or power of the white race over the black, than might be accounted for as due to the obeah force, mesmerism, and to differences in physical and mental organizations in individuals of the same race, to which he thought it logical to add, a similar influence operating between races in like manner, and for like causes, would essentially damage the argument for African slavery; yet he evidently suspected, with M. Vignaud, that there might be, in addition, some special or more powerful influence, existing in nature, compelling the negro, from necessity, *to be the slave of man or Satan*. Facts prove that all the so-called free negroes are under Satanic influences. The truth of the existence of such a law of nature would disclose not only the right and justice of our slaveholding institutions, but their impregnability against British, Northern and all monarchical efforts to overthrow them. In Guido Rena's celebrated fresco, the Aurora, on the ceiling of a magnificent room of the Pavilion of the Palazzo Rostriglioso, in Rome, there are no trace-chains, harness or bridles of ponderable or visible materials fastening the four fiery-footed horses, Æthon, Phlegon, Pyrois and Eous, to the chariot of the sun; nor chains on the arms of the mythological beings representing the hours of labor in attendance upon the curriculum of Apollo; nor any police or gens d'armée, to make them perform the various duties of the day. A more beautiful and truthful picture of that normal relation of Africans to American republicans called negro slavery it would be impossible to draw or to conceive of, than that of the Aurora of Guido, the finest fresco at Rome. In the mythological tableau the daily labors consist in driving Non and Somnas away, sprinkling the earth with dew, and clothing everything upon its surface in robes of light by parties guided, directed and governed by no other physical agent than the lines in the hands of Apollo. In the tableau spread out before us in the Confederate States the parties engaged in clothing the world are guided and governed by no other physical agent than the whip in the hands of the white man. The electrical and magnetical attractions, and chords of

sympathy and affection, uniting the celestials in harmonious action, though not depicted by the artist of the Aurora, are recognized as existing by the enchanted beholder. Similar attractions, sympathies and affections bind the parties together in the terrestrial picture, and spread before us, in the Confederate States of America, superseding the necessity for prison and chains or a military force in their government.

ART. XVI.—REMINISCENCES OF AN OFFICER OF ZOUAVES.

THIS book, though cleverly written, not only disappoints but disgusts the reader. It disappoints him because it contains no account or description of the peculiar organization, drill and tactics of the Zouaves. All the information vouchsafed to us on that subject is, that their tactics were the same as those of the *chasseurs au pied*. This is to resolve one difficulty by starting another, for the common reader knows as little of the drill of the *chasseurs au pied* as of the Zouaves. However, we hereby ascertain this important fact, that the Zouaves are not a set of mountebanks, Indian jugglers, or circus performers, like the rogues, paupers and murderers whom Col. Ellsworth has brought to Washington to cleanse New York of its criminals and to pillage the South—or better still, as food for Southern powder. Nor do they resemble the Arab troops of the same name, except in dress. Yet they have distinctive peculiarities which the author carefully endeavors to conceal, but which the intelligent reader cannot fail to discover. They are men of desperate fortunes, with few ties to attach them to society or to life; men who live on excitement, whether of liquor or of battle, in order to blunt the stings of conscience which beset them when they soberly review their past lives; human blood hounds, whose supreme happiness consists in shedding human blood without cause or provocation. They are worse men than the murderers in Macbeth, for they shed blood not from necessity, but from habit and from choice. Yet, as they, in some respects, resemble those murderers, and Col. Ellsworth's Zouaves and the balance of the Northern troops in Washington resemble those murderers much more, we will quote from Shakespeare a passage appropriate to the subject and the occasion:

2 Mur.—I am one, my liege,
Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world
Have so incensed, that I am reckless what
I do, to spite the world.

1 Mur.—And I another,
So weary with disasters, tugged with fortune,
That I would set my life on any chance,
To mend it or be rid on't.

Such are the Zouaves of France and of our North.

Those of France are a sort of standing forlorn hope, who lead

every desperate assault, and fight from no other motive or incentive than the love of blood and of danger. So far from discovering any ill-feeling toward the Arabs or the Russians, whom they delighted to encounter and to slaughter, they seemed as fond of them as the huntsman of the game which he kills, and reserved all their hatred and contempt for their allies, the Turks. The right or the wrong of the cause for which they fight is not once alluded to, and seems never to have been a subject of reflection. In fact, they are the latest and vilest outgrowth of that professional war spirit which was originated and fostered by the elder Napoleon, and those human butchers, his coarse and vulgar marshals. Napoleon, to the last, was a mere adventurer, a soldier by profession and calling—a soldier of fortune. This he confessed, when, after he became Emperor, he said, "He was only happy and at home whilst in camp." Until his day, wars had been carried on by republics or hereditary princes to defeat or enforce some disputed right. He, his marshals and his men, fought from a love of blood, of plunder and of glory, just as do the Zouaves.

Infidels all, their infidelity descended from the field of religion down into that of morals. Truth and honesty were in as little repute among their men as virtue and chastity among their women. Nothing has done so much to demoralize mankind as "Napoleonic ideas." Those ideas constitute the negation of all that is respectable, true or time-honored in religion, morals or politics. They are the ideas which make Europe a seething cauldron of infidelity, anarchy, socialism and revolutionary ardor—ideas which impel the North to make war upon the South.

The present Emperor is a better man, and a far more judicious and intelligent man, than his uncle. His wars have all been undertaken for just causes, been conducted with signal ability and success, and been attended with no unnecessary bloodshed. The uncle possessed genius, but being without either a moral or religious nature, he was singularly devoid of judgment. His undertakings were remarkable for their stupendous folly and absurdity, and hence his defeats were far grander than his victories. If the most injudicious of men be the wisest of men—if the worst of men, he who sheds most of human gore, inflicts most of human misery on his country, on mankind, and finally on himself, be a great man, then surely the elder Napoleon was the greatest of men. A false estimate of his character is too prevalent at the South, and may do much to impair that pure morality, religious faith and political conservatism that now distinguish her. We believe the present Emperor to be a wise, amiable, prudent, far-seeing man, and we would like to see the South cultivating friendly relations with him and with France; but let us beware not to cultivate his "Napoleonic Ideas." Imitate his practice, but avoid his theory.

The author of the Zouaves carefully abstains from giving us any account of the private life and character of the Zouaves,

except to inform us that they were very inventive and ingenious in contrivance to render their camp-life comfortable. In a single instance he departs from his usual reticence and secretiveness on this subject, and, from that we infer, that the French Zouaves, as a body, are men of bad character. They are about to depart from Africa for the Crimea, and are all exceedingly anxious to start on the expedition. Alluding to this the author says: "The Colonel, taking a skilful advantage of the enthusiasm thus manifested, announced, in order, that every man convicted of a serious breach of discipline should positively be deprived of the honor of making the Eastern campaign. This was enough. From that day, during the whole of the three consecutive months of February, March and April, which the regiment passed at Oran and Algiers, in company with the various other troops destined for the expedition, the second Zouaves set an example of *virtue*, for which it had certainly not got the credit before."

Such soldiers do very well as an adjunct to an orderly, moral, regularly disciplined army, but are not fit to form the staple of the army. They are often intractable and breed confusion, and thus thwart the plan of a battle or campaign. Cozan's Tenth Legion and Napoleon's Guard were not brigands and lawless banditti, like the Zouaves, but men of good moral character, who practiced strictly the rules of civilized warfare. We do not like the idea on which such a corps is founded; that is, "We will frighten our enemy by letting loose a band of devils and blood hounds among them." It is little better than the Yankee notion of stirring up servile insurrection.

The book commences in Africa and gives us some very interesting glimpses of Arabic life in Africa, and of its diversified and romantic scenery. The author possesses fine descriptive powers, and, had he written less about marches and sieges and battles, and more about localities and cities and countries, and described more fully the manners and customs of the various people he met with, his book would have been exceedingly interesting and useful. The southern part of Algeria is the northern portion of the great Sahara Desert. It is diversified by mountain chains, vast sandy plains—arid, sultry, and without vegetation—and beautiful oases, covered with the richest vegetation and the noblest trees, irrigated by cool and grateful rivulets, and inhabited by many tribes of wandering Arabs.

The following is a description of the town of Laghouat, situated in one of those oases:

"As before said, on the 2d of December, toward three o'clock of the afternoon, General Pellissier's light column came suddenly out upon an immense plain. To the left, and leagues away to the north, the eye discerned, stretching well across the horizon, a long and dark green line, slightly indented, here and there, by the branches of a forest of lofty palm trees. Rising above this line of verdure were to be seen the blackened turrets of a city and the white minarets of a mosque. At sight of this scene, the beautiful and picturesque effect of which was something new to their

eye, the Zouaves were not slow in understanding that the goal of their long and weary journey was attained. And then flashed through their mind an instantaneous presentiment of the admirable creation which would soon burst in all its splendor upon their sight—giving testimony, even in the midst of the desert, to the omnipotence of God and to His infinite bounty, thus so lavishly bestowed, even upon those who are doomed to dwell amid these fearful wastes of burning sand. The *oasis* and the city of Laghouat were, indeed, before them. Situated one hundred and ten leagues to the south of Algiers, Laghouat is built in the shape of a double amphitheatre, upon the inner sides of two opposite hills, slanting from north-west to south-east. With a rocky and precipitous ascent from the outer plains, these hills stretch gently down toward each other, imparting in this way to the city the appearance of an open fan. The two parts of this quaint-looking town are separated by the artificial channel of a small stream, the Oued-Mzi, on the banks of which the second Zouaves had encamped the night before. Only a few years previously and the oasis alone occupied this intervening space.

"Laghouat, at the period of General Pellissier's arrival before its walls, covered an area of two thousand metres in length and contained seven hundred houses. With its low portal and walled court, each one of these was independent of the remaining houses. Built of sun-dried brick, without any aid from lime, they were all of a uniform brown color, which threw something of an air of mourning over the whole town. The most noticeable edifice was the Cashbah of Ben-Salem, in the south-western part. It consisted of four large quadrangular houses, each of two stories high, and communicating one with the other; the upper terraces of which overlooked a part of the city, and were defiladed by a parapet, which caused the whole to be used as a citadel. Four gates let into the walls, at the outer base of the hills, gave admittance into the town. The two southern gates were connected by a long street, which ran the whole length of the town, cutting it in two. The defences of the place consisted of a wall, four metres in height, which entirely surrounded it, and along which, at regular intervals, were towers from eight to ten metres in height, constructed of sun-dried bricks, and having the appearance of broad-bottomed obelisks. To the north and south, that is, at either end, were extensive gardens, which served the purpose of advanced works, and, indeed, of very admirable ones, for being intersected in every direction by numerous and high walls, they completely blocked all access to the town. The total superficies of all these gardens was from about one thousand to two thousand hectares (about four thousand acres); their greatest width was three thousand metres. It thus appears that, after having reached the edge of the oasis, and before arriving within cannon-shot of the town, the columns of attack would still have to cross an extent of garden space near twelve hundred metres in length, and which, if resolutely defended, could with difficulty be taken from the enemy.

"The oasis of Laghouat teems with the richest and most luxuriant vegetation of which it is possible to conceive. The vine, the fig tree, the pomegranate, and all the fruit trees grown in the south of France, are equally at home here. But the indisputable monarch of all is the palm tree—with its lofty bearing, slender and elegant shape, and evergreen foliage. There were in the oasis, when the French troops penetrated it, not less than 25,000 of these valuable trees—which have been so justly denominated the "kings of the desert;" for it would certainly be difficult to exaggerate the worth of the palm tree. Not only is it most valuable in itself—its fruit, one of the principal articles of food among the people of the Zahara—itsself their great staple and most unbounded source of wealth—but it is also the friend and protector of other trees. Under its green and compact dome are to be found growing the most delicate plants, which, but for that shelter, would

surely perish under the scorching rays of a sun which spares nothing but its own dense foliage. There can be no question that but for the camel, the barb and the palm tree, man would be unable to traverse the arid plains of Zahara, or breathe long in its stifling atmosphere."

The author's description of the allied troops is very just and graphic. The scene which he describes is at Varna, not far from Constantinople:

"It was a curious spectacle to look on, this assembly of troops belonging to such various nations—so opposite in manners, costume and language—and yet drawn from Europe, Asia and Africa, in defence of a common cause—and all on such good terms with one another."

"For here were the men of the North—English, Irish and Scotch—with their fair complexions, blue eyes and showy costumes; the Frenchman, with his open and expressive, smiling and intelligent look, and uniform made up of whatever he could find prettiest, most convenient and useful among those of other nations; the Turk, with his grave air and mien so full of dignity; the Algerian, with his swarthy and angular features; the Egyptian, with his crisp hair, withered looks and gaudy dress; and, finally, the inhabitant of Nubia, with his thick lips and ebony skin;—and these, crossing and intermingling with one another, in the narrow streets of a Bulgarian town, a few leagues only from the great river of Europe, and in close proximity to the Russian outposts! Who could have believed it?"

It is a very common mistake with Americans and Englishmen to suppose that the French are a hypocritical, insincere people. Except the Turks, they are probably the most candid people in Europe. Their naiveté is proverbial, and their intelligent, open and bold countenances are a true index of their minds and dispositions. The French peasantry especially, who compose the larger portion of the nation, have ever been distinguished for simplicity of character, amiableness, cheerfulness, courage and ingenuity. The Englishman, on the contrary, is morose, gloomy, haughty, secretive and reticent; the Yankee of New England, his descendant, is pert, prying, meddlesome, fanatical, false, hypocritical and mischievous. He plies every one he meets with questions as to their whereabouts and whatabouts; and is so secretive about his own affairs as always to excite the suspicion of those with whom he associates. A Yankee never willingly tells who were his antecedents nor who his collaterals. They leave us to infer that each one is either the "*filius nullius*," or the son of a cheat or thief, and that his friends and associates at home were no better than his ancestry. No doubt many of them are descended from honest people, and have been used to keep company with honest people; but, by over-cunning and caution, they induce suspicion, when, if the whole truth were told, there is no just ground for suspicion. The Englishman is not an amiable character, but a highly respectable one; the Yankee is contemptible and disgusting. Yet, we of the South have been so habituated to Yankee-worship that we doubt not, if peace be speedily made, that we shall return to our idols—send our children to the North to learn manners, religion and morality;

import from the North drummers and teachers, parsons and pig-yokes; read nothing but Yankee books and periodicals; and, finally, travel through the North to get rid of the little residuum of cash of which they have not fooled and filched us in other ways.

The author's description of the Egyptians coincides with that of Aristotle. He (Aristotle) speaks of their curly heads and dark skins, but adds that these characteristics were common to many nations—showing that the Egyptian was no negro. It is remarkable that we have no passage in ancient history, anterior to the Christian era, showing that the civilized ancients were acquainted with the existence of the negro. No doubt a few traders and travellers had seen negroes; but the accounts which they gave of them were probably treated as fables.

The author thinks that Greece can never recover her former position of wealth, power and greatness, because steam navigation "*has deprived her of the overwhelming advantage which she once possessed, in being then the centre of the civilized world.*" The author is mistaken in his facts, and therefore, we think, mistaken in his conclusions. It was ocean navigation, with sailing ships, not steam navigation, that ruined Greece and all other of the Mediterranean countries, by carrying trade around the Cape of Good Hope to India, instead of across land by caravans. Steam will, very soon, restore Greece to her position as the centre of a "civilized world" twenty times as large as the whole world of the ancients. Railroads will be built across land, from the Levant to India and China, or the Suez canal will be constructed; and, in either event, Greece will be better situated for a world-wide trade than any country of Europe, and, probably, than any other country whatever. However in some respects the Greeks may have fallen, they have lost nothing of their love or aptitude for trade, and will readily take advantage of any changes which may throw them again into its centre and great highway.

The following account of a part of the passage from Algeria to Turkey is the finest thing in the book, and shows that the author has cultivated a taste for the classic antique :

"Two days after quitting Malta, the frigate was ploughing her way through the waters of Greece, and within close view of the barren and naked coast of the Morea, as we ran down the western side of that peninsula. During the day, the rock of Ithaca, the islands of Sapienza and Esparteria, the gulfs of Navarino and Koroni, were dimly seen off to our left. Toward evening Cape Matapan was doubled, and the frigate shot through the narrow strait which separates the Peloponnesus from the island of Cythera, now Cerigo.

"During this period of the voyage, the thoughts of all were busy with that older world, of which so many vivid memories were suggested by every isle and headland that we passed. The very band, as it played on the quarter deck, seemed bent on awakening the echoes of Cythera, and, if possible, of arousing the shade of the once fair priestess of Amathonte, by the deliciously appropriate symphonies which it selected from *Haidee* and *La Favorita*.

"Soon the sun went down behind the mountains which border the gulf of

Calamata, and the higher peaks of Mount Taygetus, still glistening with their winter's coat of snow, and the mind, amid its thickening darkness, insensibly lost itself in reveries, in which, lazily floating over a sea of thoughts, it yet lingered chiefly on the ruined site of Sparta, lying but a short distance inland, and upon the mountains of Cythera close by, within whose ancient groves, even where now stand arid rocks, were once celebrated those hidden mysteries in honor of the Queen of Love, from which the uninitiated were so carefully excluded.

"But, as the frigate rounded the Cape of St. Angelo, with what a tide of intoxicating memories was not the imagination flooded! Even the shadows of the night seemed gradually to resolve themselves into dim outlines of the goddesses of Greek mythology. In the soft sighing of the wind and the low murmur of the waves, the spell-bound ear seemed once more listening to the song of the Syrens or the choral chanting of the Nereids. The very air was that once breathed by Themistocles, Pericles, by Alcibiades and Phidias, the same that had kissed the fair cheek of Laïs, and wanted about the lovely limbs of Phryne! What ecstasies of wild ambition, of longing and desire, thrilled through the minds and fiery veins of youth; what sighs of soft regret escaped the lips as these glorious reminiscences of the once glorious and beautiful continued to throng through the heated brain! The night was far, far spent before each weary eyelid had sunk in sleep, and these visions of the poetic past had converted themselves into the brief but sweet reality of dreams.

"By dawn of the next day, the frigate was in sight of Milo (Melos), the first of the Cyclades, where she took in the pilot who was to steer her through the labyrinth of islands known to the ancients as the *Ægean sea*.

"After leaving Milo, we ran almost due north; and, after passing to the westward of Siphanto, Serpho, Paros, Ternia, Syra, Tino and Andros, and leaving on our left the gulf of Nauplia, sprinkled with rocky islets, we penetrated, just as the sun was setting behind the mountains of Attica, into the canal of Paros, just grazing, as we sped by it, the rock of Zea (Cooz), which partly masks the entrance into the gulf of Salamina and the low shores of that of Athens. To the left, and in front of us, rose the towering island of Negropont, its mountain summits still covered with snow.

"On the 13th we entered into the middle basin of the Archipelago, leaving to our left the coasts of Thessaly and Macedonia, but at such a distance that they were barely discernible; and to our right Scio, Ypsala, noted for a massacre of the Greeks during the last war with the Turks, the gulf of Smyrna, Mytelene, whose more low-lying lands seemed better cultivated than those of the other islands—and arrived before dark in sight of Tenedos. Here, the current occasioned by the precipitation of the waters of the Black sea through the Bosphorus, the sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles, into the Black sea, begins to be sensibly felt, especially when aided by the north wind, which, during a portion of the year, is so prevalent in those waters.

"In fair view of the town and fort of Tenedos, though on the coast of Asia, is the site of ancient Troy. Upon its undulating surface, now covered with woods and undergrowth, may yet be seen a few tumuli, which are thought to be the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. Further back, the plain is hemmed in by mountains; in the rear of which, looking down upon the jagged summits, stands Mount Ida, with its cap of snow. The high mountains of Imbro and Lemnos come next in sight after Tenedos; then the bay of Berika, where two hundred vessels were waiting for a change in the north wind; and, finally, the Dardanelles—on the right and left of which arose the castles of Europe and Asia, whose cross fire sweeps every foot of the entrance into the straits."

We will give two more extracts—the one, a description of Constantinople, seen in the distance; the other, its appearance when we enter it. We then shall have extracted most of what is worth reading in this book, which we can by no means recommend to the reader. With a good subject, Gen. Cler, its author, would have distinguished himself as a writer; but no one can write well about the actings and doings of such licensed banditti as the Zouaves. We regret that Americans are following French examples and organizing corps of this kind, who will only add to the horrors of war without helping to attain any of its legitimate objects.

“Constantinople, at a distance of twenty-four kilometres, lay before us! Above the broad horizon, and fairly glistening beneath the slant beams of the new-risen sun upon the thousand domes and needle-like minarets of the great city of the East, standing out, distinct and clear, from amid the thin vaporing mists which floated about them. The soldiers were still too far off to be able at such a distance to make out the walls, and thus all the lower or more earthly portion of the old stamboul was shrouded from their sight; but through the white transparent veil, which vaguely draped without concealing it, and which was already beginning to dissolve under the ardor of a June sun, the whole upper portion of the vast city stood fully revealed to their enraptured gaze, in all its dream-like beauty. To the left, and as though to frame in the enchanting picture, arose the rounded hills of ancient Hæmus; beyond the minarets, the serrated mountain peaks of Asia; to the right, the sea of Marmora, glowing in the morning light, and laving with its smooth waters, the shores of Antigonæ and the isle of Princes; still further to the right, the coast of Asia, rising abruptly from the sea; and beyond, the towering form of Mount Olympus, crowned with eternal snows! It was a full realization of one's wildest dreams about the East! For a while the Zouaves were lost in a sort of ecstasy, which quickly was succeeded, however, by a feeling of the liveliest gratification at the thought that they were about to enter Constantinople, as formerly had done the Roman legions, the Crusaders, the brave Christian knights of their own fair land, who, without the aid of king or kaizer, had once subjugated this great empire, and, finally, the Osmanlis. They were following the same road, which, ages before them, had been trod by a Constantine, a Boudoin, a Mahomet! A little while more they remained mute with admiration, absorbed in contemplation of the sublime and wondrous scene which lay spread out in all its loveliness at their feet; then suddenly turning away, and as though seized with a certain sentiment of respect for the vast city of the Emperors of the East, all, officers as well as soldiers, moved silently down the mountain side, their hearts thrilling with indescribable emotions.”

Here is the interior view of the city:

“Indeed, when one is brought in close contact with these splendors of the East, so extravagantly lauded on the other side of the Alps, one is often tempted to ask himself, if the West might not fairly claim for itself, and by a much better title than the other portion of the globe, the palm of imaginative poetry?

“Seen from afar, Constantinople undoubtedly offers to the eye a scene of the most romantic beauty; yet, in whatever way he may have approached the city, whether by land or sea, the traveller who would like to preserve his first delighted impressions of it must abstain from setting foot within its limits! For the poetic side of Stamboul is but a deceitful mirage, which

disappears as one draws nearer to it, until there remains nothing in its place but the cold, ungracious prose of a very different sort of reality. The capitol of the Osmanlis may even be likened to an old coquette, who, seen at night by the glare of lamps, and at a certain distance, may still excite no inconsiderable amount of admiration, but whose bleared eyes and faded charms, when viewed by the clear light of day, inspire nothing but disgust.

"Built in the shape of an amphitheatre, along the slopes which descend to the sea of Marmora, the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, Constantinople is surrounded with cemeteries and filled with gardens. Trees of various kinds thus mingle their shades of foliage with the bold, yet graceful, architecture of its innumerable domes and minarets."

Probably the most important fact to be gathered from this book is, that the Asiatic nations have lost all character—have not only ceased to be progressive, but are rapidly declining. This is not the result of race, or of climate, for their climate is better than that of Europe, and in Western Asia they belong to the same Caucasian race. It is hardly possible to account for the rapid decades of Asiatic people, and the rapid progress and improvement of European nations, on any other hypothesis than that of difference of religion. Christianity enlightens, invigorates and improves the European; idolatry depresses the Asiatic. European civilization, of which Christianity is the chief element, is soon to be introduced into Asia. Force will be required to effect it, but the Asiatics are so cowardly that there would be little bloodshed.

ART. XVII.—THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

1.—OUR CAUSE BEFORE THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

In his first annual message President Davis, with great ability, presents the questions involved in our great political revolution:

During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent, a common danger impelled them to a close alliance, and to the formation of a Confederation, by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves States, entered "*severally* into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever."

In order to guard against any misconstruction of their compact, the several States made explicit declaration, in a distinct article, that "*each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.*"

Under this contract of alliance, the War of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several States were, *each by name*, recognized to be independent.

The articles of confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations

were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislatures of *every State*, after being agreed to by the Congress; and in obedience to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st February, 1787, the several States appointed delegates, who attended a Convention "for the *sole and express purpose* of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union."

It was, by the delegates chosen by the *several States*, under the resolution just quoted, that the Constitution of the United States was framed in 1787, and submitted to the *several States* for ratification, as shown by the seventh article, which is in these words:

"The ratification of the *Conventions of nine States* shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution BETWEEN the States so ratifying the same."

I have italicized certain words in the quotations just made, for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavored, in every possible form, to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common government and nation; and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact BETWEEN independent States.

The Constitution of 1787 having, however, omitted the clause already recited from the articles of confederation, which provided, in explicit terms, that each State *retained* its sovereignty and independence, some alarm was felt in the States when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principle, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation by the States of all their sovereign rights and powers—not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange, indeed, must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government thus formed was not a compact *between* States, but was in effect a national Government, set up *above* and *over* the States. An organization, created by the States to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against *foreign* aggression, has been gradually perverted into a machine for their control in their *domestic* affairs: the *creature* has been exalted above its *creators*; the *principals* have been made subordinate to the *agent* appointed by themselves.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render the common Government subservient to their own purposes, by imposing burthens on commerce as a protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversy grew out of these attempts, often successful, to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other. And the danger of disruption, arising from this cause, was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increased by immigration and other causes in a greater ratio than the population of the South. By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control; they learned to listen with impatience to the sugges-

tion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will; and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the Inaugural Address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as an axiom which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern; and in another memorable instance, the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a county and a State in which it is situated and by which it was created. This is the lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long-continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States negro slavery existed, and the right of property in slaves was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date; and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labor, whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interest by selling their slaves to the South, and prohibiting slavery within their limits. The South were willing purchasers of a property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were inhibited, not only by want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States that prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves; fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt; means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to abscond; the constitutional provision for their rendition to their owners was first evaded, then openly denounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty; men were taught that it was a merit to elude, disobey and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the performance of the promise contained in the constitutional com-

pact; owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day, solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave; the dogmas of these voluntary organizations soon obtained control of the legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed providing for the punishment by ruinous fines and long continued imprisonment in jails and penitentiaries of citizens of the Southern States who should dare to ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property. Emboldened by success, the theatre of agitation and aggression against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Southern States was transferred to the Congress; Senators and Representatives were sent to the common councils of the nation, whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was, not "to promote the general welfare or ensure domestic tranquility," but to awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister States by violent denunciation of their institutions; the transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority. Finally, a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain, acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase; of surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited; of thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars. This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care and attention for the well-being and comfort of the laboring class, dictated alike by interest and humanity, the African slaves had augmented in number from about six hundred thousand—at the date of the constitutional compact—to upwards of four millions. In moral and social condition they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts but with careful religious instruction. Under the supervision of a superior race, their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition, but to convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of the wilderness into cultivated lands, covered with a prosperous people; towns and cities had sprung into existence, and had rapidly increased in wealth and population under the social system of the South; the white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about one million two hundred and fifty thousand, at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than eight millions five hundred thousand in 1860; and the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labor of African slaves was, and is, indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three-fourths of the exports of the whole United States, and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperilled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to Conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best adapted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history.

Here it may be proper to observe that, from a period as early as 1798, there had existed in *all* of the States of the Union a party, almost uninterruptedly in the majority, based upon the creed that each State was, in the last resort, the sole judge as well of its wrongs as of the mode and measure of redress. Indeed, it is obvious that, under the law of nations, this principle is an axiom as applied to the relations of independent sovereign States, such as those which had united themselves under the constitutional compact. The Democratic party of the United States repeated in its successful canvass in 1856 the declaration made in numerous previous political contests, that it would "faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed."

The principles thus emphatically announced embrace that to which I have already adverted—the right of each State to judge of and redress the wrongs of which it complains. These principles were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the States of the Union at different elections, especially in the elections of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852.

In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States, in their Conventions, determined that the wrongs which they had suffered, and the evils with which they were menaced, required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to the Federal Government, which they had ratified in their several Conventions. They consequently passed ordinances resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent States, and dissolved their connection with the other States of the Union.

2.—LAWS FOR OUR PRIVATEERS AND PRIZE COURTS.

SECTION 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact,* That all prizes of vessels and property captured by private armed ships, in pursuance of the Act passed by Congress recognizing the existence of war between the United States and the Confederate States, and concerning letters of marque, prizes and prize goods, which may be condemned, in any Court of the Confederate States, shall be sold at public auction by the Marshal of the District in which the same shall be condemned, within sixty days after the condemnation thereof, sufficient notice of the time and place and condition of sale being first given, on such day or days, on such terms of credit, and in such lots or proportions as may be designated by the owner or owners, or agent of the owner or owners of the privateer which may have captured the same. *Provided,* That the term of such credit shall not exceed ninety days; and the said Marshal is hereby directed to take and receive from the purchaser or purchasers of such prize vessel and property the money therefor, or his, her, or their promissory notes with endorsers, to be approved by the owner or owners of the privateer, to the amount of the purchase, payable according to the terms thereof.

SEC. 2. That upon all duties, costs and charges, being paid according to law, the said Marshal shall, on demand, deliver and pay over to the owner or owners of the privateer, or to the agent of such owner or owners of the privateer which may have captured such prize, vessel and property, a just and equal proportion of the funds received on account of the sale thereof, and of the promissory notes directed to be taken as aforesaid, to which the said owner or owners may be entitled, according to the articles of agreement between the said owner or owners and the officers and crew of the said privateer; and a just and equal proportion of the proceeds of the sale

as aforesaid, shall, on demand, be also paid over, by the said Marshal, to the officers and crew of the said privateer, or to their agent or agents. And if there be no written agreement, it shall be the duty of the Marshal to pay over, in manner aforesaid, one moiety of the proceeds of the sale of such prize vessel and property, to the owner or owners of the privateer which may have captured the same; and the other moiety of the said proceeds to the agent or agents of the officers and crew of the said privateer to be distributed according to law, or to any agreement by them made. *Provided*, The said officers and crew, or their agent or agents, shall have first refunded to the owner or owners, or to the agent of the owner or owners of the privateer aforesaid, the full amount of advances which shall have been made by the owner or owners of the privateer, to the officers and crew thereof.

SEC. 3. That for the selling prize property, and receiving and paying over the proceeds as aforesaid, the Marshal shall be entitled to a commission of one per cent. and no more, first deducting all duties, costs and charges which may have accrued on said property. *Provided*, That on no case of condemnation and sale of any one prize vessel and cargo, shall the commissions of the Marshal exceed two hundred and fifty dollars.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of the Marshal, within fifteen days after any sale of prize property, to file in the office of the Clerk of the District Court of the district wherein such sale may be made, a just and true account of the sales of such prize property, and of all duties and charges thereon, together with a statement thereto annexed of the promissory notes taken on account thereof, which account shall be verified by the oath of the said Marshal; and if the said Marshal shall wilfully neglect or refuse to file such account, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars for each omission or refusal as aforesaid, to be recovered in an action of debt by any person interested in such sale, and suing for the said penalty on account of the party or parties interested in prize vessel or property, sold as aforesaid, in any court having cognizance thereof.

SEC. 5. That the owner or owners of any private armed vessel or vessels, or their agent or agents, may, at any time before a libel shall be filed against any captured vessel or her cargo, remove the same from any port into which such prize vessel or property may be first brought, to any other port in the Confederate States, to be designated at the time of the removal as aforesaid, subject to the same restrictions and complying with the same regulations with respect to the payment of duties which are provided by law, in relation to other vessels arriving in port with cargoes subject to the payment of duties. *Provided*, That before such removal, the said captured property shall not have been attached at the suit of any adverse claimant, or a claim against the same have been interposed in behalf of the Confederate States.

3.—HOW THE CONFEDERATE STATES PROPOSE TO RAISE THEIR WAR REVENUE.

SECTION 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, with the assent of the President of the Confederate States, issue fifty millions of dollars in bonds payable at the expiration of twenty years from their date, and bearing a rate of interest not exceeding eight per cent. per annum until they become payable, the said interest to be paid semi-annually. The said bonds, after public advertisement in three newspapers within the Confederate States for six weeks, to be sold for specie, military stores, or for the proceeds of sales of raw produce or manufactured articles, to be paid in the form of specie, or with

foreign bills of exchange, in such manner and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the assent of the President. But it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to report at its next ensuing session to the Congress of the Confederate States a precise statement of his transactions under this law. Nor shall the said bonds be issued in fractional parts of the hundred, or be exchanged by the said Secretary for Treasury notes, or the notes of any bank, corporation or individual, but only in the manner herein prescribed. *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the Secretary of the Treasury from receiving foreign bills of exchange in payment of these bonds.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That in lieu of bonds to an amount not exceeding twenty millions of dollars, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the assent of the President, may issue Treasury notes to the same amount, without interest, and in denominations of not less than five dollars; the said notes to be receivable in payment of all debts or taxes due to the Confederate States, except the export duty on cotton, or in exchange for the bonds herein authorized to be issued. The said notes shall be payable at the end of two years from the date of their issue in specie. The holders of the said notes may at any time demand in exchange for them bonds of the Confederate States, payable at the end of ten years, and bearing an interest of eight per centum per annum, to be paid semi-annually. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to issue the said bonds, but not in fractional parts of the hundred. But if, after the expiration of two years, when the Treasury note shall be due, the Secretary of the Treasury shall advertise that he will pay the same, then the privilege of funding shall cease after six months from the date of the advertisement, unless there shall be a failure to pay the same on their presentation.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in lieu of the notes authorized by this Act which may be redeemed, other notes may be issued within the period of ten years as aforesaid. *Provided, however*, That the amount of such notes outstanding, together with the stock in which the said Treasury notes may have been funded under the provisions of this Act shall not exceed the sum of twenty millions of dollars. But the Secretary of the Treasury may, upon application of a holder of a bond thus funded, redeem it by giving in exchange Treasury notes issued under the provisions of this Act, to such extent that the entire amount of notes then issued, together with the amount of the bonds in which they may have been funded, shall not exceed twenty millions of dollars.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the faith of the Confederate States is hereby pledged to provide and establish sufficient revenues for the regular payment of the interest and for the redemption of the said stock and Treasury notes. And the principal sum borrowed under the provisions of this Act and the interest thereon, as the same shall from time to time become due and payable, shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That this Act shall be deemed to contain all the provisions, limitations and penalties of the Act entitled an Act to authorize the issue of Treasury notes, and to prescribe the punishment for forging the same, and for forging certificates of stocks, bonds or coupons, and approved March 9th, 1861, which shall be considered as parts of this Act, save the first, second and tenth sections, and save so much as relates to interest upon Treasury notes.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of raising ten millions of dollars within the present calendar year, and of providing for the ultimate redemption of the debt herein authorized to be contracted, the

Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to collect information in regard to the value of the property, the revenue system, and the amount collected during the last fiscal year in each of the Confederate States, and to report the same to Congress at its next session, so as to enable it to lay a fair, equal and convenient system of internal taxation for the purpose of securing the payment of the interest and principal of the debt thereby authorized to be created, in such manner as may fully discharge the obligation herein contracted by the pledge of the faith of the Confederate States to pay the principal and interest of the said debt when due.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That any State may pay into the Treasury, in anticipation of the tax aforesaid, any sum not less than one hundred thousand dollars, in specie or its equivalent; and if the same be paid on or before the first day of July next, the said State shall be allowed to set off the same, with ten per cent. additional, from the quota to be assessed upon the said State.

4.—POSTAGE SYSTEM OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

LETTER POSTAGE.

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That from and after such period as the Post-master-General may, by proclamation, announce, there shall be charged the following rates of postage, to wit: For every single sealed letter, and for every letter in manuscript or paper of any kind, upon which information shall be asked for or communicated in writing, or by marks or signs, conveyed in the mail for any distance between places within the Confederate States of America, not exceeding five hundred miles, five cents; and for any distance exceeding five hundred miles, double that rate; and every letter or parcel not exceeding half an ounce in weight shall be deemed a single letter, and every additional weight of half an ounce, or additional weight of less than half an ounce, shall be charged with additional single postage; and all packages containing other than printed or written matter—and money packages are included in this class—shall be rated by weight, as letters are rated, and shall be charged the rates of postage on letters; and all drop letters, or letters placed in any post-office not for transmission, but for delivery only, shall be charged with postage at the rate of two cents each; and in all the foregoing cases the postage must be prepaid by stamps; and all letters which shall hereafter be advertised as remaining over or uncalled for, in any post-office, shall be charged with two cents each in addition to the regular postage, both to be accounted for as other postages of this Confederacy.

POSTAGE ON NEWSPAPERS, PAMPHLETS, AND OTHER PRINTED MATTER, INCLUDING BOOKS.

And be it further enacted, That all newspapers published within the Confederate States, not exceeding three ounces in weight, and sent from the office of publication to actual and *bona fide* subscribers within the Confederate States, shall be charged with postage, as follows, viz.: The postage on the regular numbers of a newspaper published weekly, shall be ten cents per quarter; papers published semi-weekly, double that amount; papers published thrice a week, treble that amount; papers published six times a week, six times that amount; and papers published daily, seven times that amount. And on newspapers weighing more than three ounces, there shall be charged on each additional ounce, in addition to the foregoing rates, on those published once a week, five cents per ounce, or fraction of an ounce, per quarter; on those published twice a week, ten cents per ounce per quarter; on those published three times a week, fifteen cents per ounce per quarter; on those published six times a week, thirty cents per ounce per

quarter; and on those published daily, thirty-five cents per ounce per quarter.

And periodicals published oftener than bi-monthly shall be charged as newspapers.

And other periodicals, sent from the office of publication to actual and *bona fide* subscribers, shall be charged with postage as follows, viz.: The postage on the regular numbers of a periodical, published within the Confederate States, not exceeding one and a half ounce in weight, and published monthly, shall be two and a half cents per quarter; and for every additional ounce, or fraction of an ounce, two and a half cents additional; if published semi-monthly, double that amount. And periodicals published quarterly or bi-monthly shall be charged two cents an ounce; and regular subscribers to newspapers and periodicals shall be required to pay one quarter's postage thereon in advance, at the office of delivery, unless paid at the office where published.

And there shall be charged upon every other newspaper, and each circular not sealed, hand-bill, engraving, pamphlet, periodical and magazine, which shall be unconnected with any manuscript or written matter, and not exceeding three ounces in weight, and published within the Confederate States, two cents; and for each additional ounce, or fraction of an ounce, two cents additional; and in all cases the postage shall be prepaid by stamps or otherwise, as the Post-master-General shall direct.

And books, bound or unbound, not weighing over four pounds, shall be deemed mailable matter, and shall be charged with postage, to be prepaid by stamps or otherwise, as the Post-master-General shall direct, at two cents an ounce for any distance.

And upon all newspapers, periodicals and books, as aforesaid, published beyond the limits of the Confederate States, there shall be charged postage at double the foregoing specified rates.

The publishers of newspapers or periodicals within the Confederate States may send and receive to and from each other, from their respective offices of publication, one copy of each publication, free of postage.

All newspapers, unsealed circulars, or other unsealed printed transient matter, placed in any post-office, not for transmission but for delivery only, shall be charged postage at the rate of one cent each.

FRANKING PRIVILEGE.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the day when this Act goes into effect the franking privilege shall be abolished. *Provided*, That the Post-master-General and his chief clerk, the chief of the Contract, Appointment and Finance Bureaus, and the Auditor of the Treasury for the Post-office Department, shall be and they are hereby authorized to transmit through the mail, free of postage, any letters, packages or other matters relating exclusively to their official duties or to the business of the Post-office Department; but they shall, in every such case, indorse on the back of the letter or package to be sent free of postage, over their own signature, the words "Official Business." And for any such indorsement falsely made, the person so offending shall forfeit and pay three hundred dollars. *And provided further*, The several deputy post-masters throughout the Confederate States shall be and hereby are authorized to send through the mail, free of postage, all letters and packages which it may be their duty or they may have occasion to transmit to any person or place, and which shall relate exclusively to the business of the Post-office Department; but in every such case the deputy post-master sending any such letter or package shall indorse thereon, over his own signature, the words "Post-office Business." And for any and every such indorsement falsely made, the person making the same shall forfeit and pay three hundred dollars.

PAYMENT OF POSTAGE IN MONEY UNTIL POSTAGE STAMPS AND
STAMPED ENVELOPES ARE PROVIDED.

SECTION 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact,* That until postage stamps and stamped envelopes can be procured and distributed, the Post-master-General may order the postage of the Confederacy to be prepaid in money, under such rules and regulations as he may adopt.

REPEAL OF THE LETTER REGISTRATION SYSTEM.

And be it further enacted, That the third section of an Act entitled An Act further to amend an Act entitled "an Act to reduce and modify the rates of postage in the United States, and for other purposes, passed March 3d, eighteen hundred and fifty-one," approved March 3d, 1855, whereby the letter registration system was established, be and is hereby repealed from and after the day when this Act goes into effect.

CONVEYANCE OF MAIL MATTER BY "EXPRESS" AND OTHER CHARTERED
COMPANIES.

SEC. 5. That it shall be lawful for the Post-master-General to allow express and other chartered companies to carry letters and all mail matter of every description, whether the same be enclosed in stamped envelopes or prepaid by stamps or money; but if the same be prepaid in money, the money shall be paid to some post-master, who shall stamp the same paid, and shall account to the Post-office Department for the same, in the same manner as for letters sent by the mail; and if prepaid by stamps, then the express or other company receiving such letters for delivery shall obliterate such stamps, under the penalty of five hundred dollars for each failure, to be recovered by action of debt in any Court having jurisdiction thereof, in the name of the Post-master-General, for the use of the Confederate States; but if said letters or mail matter shall be received by such express or other company, not for delivery, but to be mailed, then the matter so carried shall be prepaid at the same rate that the existing law requires it to be paid from the point where it may be received by such company to the point of its destination, and the post-master, where such company may mail the same, shall deface the stamps upon the same.

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted,* That agents of any company who may carry letters under the provisions of this Act, shall be required to take an oath that he will faithfully comply with the law of the Confederate States relating to the carrying of letters and other mail matter, and obliterating postage stamps, which oath may be administered by any justice of the peace, and shall be in writing, and signed by such agent or messenger, and filed in the Post-office Department.

Approved, March 15th, 1861.

AN ACT TO CONTINUE IN FORCE CERTAIN LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA.

Be it enacted by the Confederate States of America in Congress assembled, That all the laws of the United States of America, in force and in use in the Confederate States of America on the first day of November last, and not inconsistent with the Constitution of the Confederate States, be and the same are hereby continued in force until altered or repealed by the Congress.

Adopted, February 9, 1861.

Post-masters' returns must be made to close on the 31st March, the 30th June, the 30th September, and the 31st December, in each year; and the return for the fractional part of the current quarter, which ends June 30th next, must be promptly rendered to the Chief of the Finance Bureau, Post-office Department, Montgomery, Alabama, in the form and manner prescribed by existing laws and regulations.

5.—SHORE LINE TO BE BLOCKADED.

According to the statement of Col. Keitt, the Northern, or free States, have 9,334 miles of coast, and Southern, or slave States, 23,803—a total North and South of 33,137 miles.

STATES.	Shore line of coast wash'd by sea.	Shore line of coast wash'd by bays, sounds, &c.	Shore line of rivers to head of tide.	Total sea coast and shores of bays, sounds, &c.	Total sea coast and shores of bays, sounds, &c. and of rivers to head of tide.
Maine.....miles.	427	1,599	427	2,026	2,452
New Hampshire.....	13	37	24	50	74
Massachusetts.....	209	865	832	1,074	1,906
Rhode Island.....	55	158	232	208	440
Connecticut.....	14	238	1,074	253	1,327
New York.....	114	886	1,057	1,009	2,057
New Jersey.....	128	702	151	820	571
Pennsylvania.....	.....	.....	106	.....	106
Delaware.....	29	156	506	165	671
Maryland.....	44	1,008	3,481	1,052	4,453
Virginia.....	148	735	1,690	883	2,372
North Carolina.....	299	1,547	933	1,848	2,780
South Carolina.....	162	356	708	548	1,256
Georgia.....	86	410	368	486	924
Florida.....	1,020	3,005	860	4,025	4,885
Alabama.....	33	284	313	317	630
Mississippi.....	42	206	137	248	385
Louisiana.....	616	1,595	956	2,211	3,147
Texas.....	1,353	1,234	432	1,637	3,069
Total.....	3,812	15,037	14,286	18,854	33,137

Mr. Keitt gives a table of the number of harbors in the different States on the coast, and the principal ones on the rivers to the head of tide. For the free States—Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—the number of harbors is put down at 189; and for the slave States—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas—249; showing a difference of 60 harbors in favor of the Southern States.

6.—ARMS IN THE SOUTH.

The erroneous opinion seems prevalent in some quarters that the South is totally destitute of arms and ammunition for her defence, and such a statement has actually been urged as a sufficient argument against the blow which she has recently struck for her independence. An estimate of the amount on hand, however, will demonstrate the folly of the fears which such a false opinion may have engendered, and show our state of preparation for resistance. The following seizures have been made since the inception of the Southern movement:

Baton Rouge,	70,000
Alabama Arsenal,	20,000
Elizabeth, N. C.,	30,000
Fayetteville, N. C.,	35,000
Charleston,	23,000
Harper's Ferry,	5,000
Norfolk,	7,000
Other places,	100,000
Total,	290,000

The State arms previously purchased by the States amount to :

Alabama,	80,000
Virginia,	73,000
Louisiana,	30,000
Georgia,	120,000
South Carolina,	47,000
Mississippi,	50,000
Florida,	17,000
Total,	417,000

The grand total thus amounts to 707,000 stand of arms, besides 200,000 revolvers which are said to be on hand at various points. We have not included in the above the arms owned by the States of Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, Kentucky, Maryland and Virginia, which will increase the number at least to 1,000,000. Besides this there are thought to be 2,000,000 of private arms, which will answer all practical purposes in case of invasion by the enemy. In face of the above figures, let no one deny that the South is sufficiently well armed to drive the last minion of federal power from her soil in any possible emergency.—*Memphis Appeal*.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

1.—NEW ORLEANS AND JACKSON RAILROAD.

From the late annual report, we extract the following :

By the Treasurer's report, the receipts from all sources during the year ending February 28, 1861, have been, including balance on hand.....\$1,873,609 35

Disbursed during the same period:

For operating the road.....	\$747,461 28
Graduation, mostly for the extension beyond Canton.....	166,297 68
Iron rails and fastenings on hand at depot in New Orleans.....	126,118 37
Locomotives, cars and tools.....	152,628 90
Real Estate, right of way, surveying, engineering, fencing, etc.....	34,600 74
Building way stations and improvements to depot grounds, etc.....	43,508 52
Interest on first mortgage bonds and other interest accounts.....	213,331 09
Expenses, contingencies, law charges, etc.....	40,420 88

\$1,524,367 46

Balance on hand, chiefly in bills receivable for stock subscriptions in Mississippi, and amounts to debit of sundry agents and others..... 349,241 89—1,873,609 35

We redeemed on 1st July, 1860, after due public notice, from the lowest bidder, fifty-nine of our first mortgage bonds for the sum of forty-nine thousand five hundred and thirty dollars—which reduces the mortgage by the amount of fifty-nine thousand dollars.

By the General Superintendent's report, it will be seen that the earnings of the road during the twelve months were, from—

Freight.....	\$649,599 04
Passengers.....	520,624 60
Mails.....	62,400 00
	\$1,232,623 64

The expenses during the same time have been—

For maintenance of way.....	\$251,109 28
Motive power.....	212,772 80
Conducting transportation.....	187,873 47
Steamers and other expenses during the overflow of October and storm of November, 1860.....	27,327 39
Stock killed in Mississippi.....	9,277 53
Maintenance of cars.....	59,100 76
Add outstanding and unpaid bills.....	28,106 66

\$775,567 94

From which must be deducted the amount paid during the present year for materials and labor for the previous year, as per bill..... 98,378 24

Total cost of operating the road in 1861..... \$677,189 70

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

679

This amount includes all the extraordinary expenses caused by the overflow in October and storm of November, 1860; also the repair damage from the floods of Pearl river and the Tangipahoa; also the building of three division houses, near four miles of second track and sidings, and five miles of fencing, which ought properly to be charged to construction of road, leaving the net earnings..... \$555,433 94
 Or 45 per cent. of gross earning, which will compare favorably with any road in the country.
 The gross earnings, as shown by the report of the year previous, during eleven months from April 1st, 1859, to February 29th, 1860, were..... \$999,510 92
 The expenditures were..... 670,065 62

Showing the net earnings of the road during the eleven months ending 29th February, 1860, to have been..... \$329,445 30

By which it will be seen that the actual expenses for the eleven months ending February 29th, 1860 (\$670,065.62) were only \$7,124.08 short of those for the full year ending 28th February, 1861 (\$677,189.70), while the increase of receipts for the corresponding time was \$233,112.72.

2.—SOUTHERN RAILROAD OF MISSISSIPPI.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Esq.: I take the liberty of sending you the enclosed articles from the Vicksburg Whig, in the hope that the subject of main importance to which they relate may, through your influential Review, be brought favorably to the notice of your readers in the Confederate States. That is the great importance, especially in the present and prospective condition of the Cotton States, to construct, without loss of time, the railroad from Montgomery, now the capitol of the Southern Government, to Meridian, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, the eastern terminus of the Southern Railroad. It only requires the liberal and united efforts of a few leading railroad companies to complete this important connection in twelve or eighteen months; the whole distance from Montgomery to Meridian is only about one hundred and forty miles, on which line, that is from Selma to Uniontown, there are thirty miles of completed road now in operation, and some forty or fifty miles more of it ready for the cross ties and iron. The completion of that portion of the east and west trunk of the great iron highway, penetrating through the very heart of the five cotton States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, cementing and welding them together in inseparable unity and harmony, would be one of the most important elements of strength to the young republic to insure its power and prosperity. Look at the mineral wealth of Alabama, her rich beds of iron ores and vast coal fields that would be developed. Look at the necessity of such a line to prepare for the wonderful revolution in commerce that is about to take place; we want all the outlets possible for our exportable produce, and ready access to every desirable port from which to obtain supplies.

We have now a speedy prospect of purchasing foreign goods (European) in all our Southern important commercial cities belonging to the Confederate States, much cheaper than they can be obtained in New York and other principal Northern cities.

No single proposition or work of internal improvement within the Confederate States is comparable in importance, viewed in a social, pecuniary, political, military or commercial light to the rapid completion of this portion of the Main Trunk line that is to bind together homogeneous States, and strengthen the hands of their people to achieve their magnificent designs.

Yours, very respectfully.

[The articles referred to above will have attention hereafter.—ED.]

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND MINING.

1.—AGRICULTURAL DIVISION OF TENNESSEE.

The number of agricultural districts differing in kinds is, as we have before stated, about twenty. I will mention a few of them by way of illustration. The Mississippi river bottoms, embracing in Tennessee an area of about eight hundred square miles, constitute a well defined and well characterized one. Another is formed by a remarkable formation—the “ashen loam” of Memphis; this occupies a strip of the State about thirty miles wide, lying adjacent to the bottoms mentioned, and running from Shelby to Obion through the State. There are three others as interesting and well defined as West Tennessee. In Middle Tennessee, the central and rich blue limestone basin is a good example. The last is completely surrounded by an interesting and nearly homogeneous rim or circle of lands more or less elevated, which is another. The wide and elevated plains of the Cumberland Mountain or table-land is another unique and well marked district, with an area of more than four thousand square miles. In East Tennessee we have the greatest number of districts—a consequence of her geographical structure. Here they often take the form of long and beautiful valleys, of which Powell’s Valley, Sequatchee Valley, the New Market and Sweet Water Valleys, are examples. There are besides these many others quite as beautiful. Many of them are alike in kind, and will be classed together.—*Safford*.

2.—OUACHITA COAL MINING COMPANY OF LOUISIANA.

We learn from the prospectus of this Company that the running expenses of a steam towboat of 460 tons, not including fuel (burning our own) \$620.

“The towboat can tow four barges each trip, and make at least three trips a month to New Orleans from the mines, or twice that number of trips to the mouth of Red river, on the Mississippi river (where a depot can be established to supply the Natchez, Vicksburg, Memphis and other steamboats), each barge holding 2,500 barrels, would give us 30,000 barrels of coal per month of three trips, at a cost of two cents per barrel freight, or four-fifths of a cent per bushel.

The coal can be mined at an outside cost of four cents per bushel, making a total expense for mining and freight of five cents per bushel, delivered at New Orleans.

There are 2,140 acres of coal land belonging to the Company, each acre containing in the upper seam 100,000 bushels, making in the upper seam, say 214,000,000 of bushels, which at a royalty of one cent per bushel would be worth over \$2,000,000.

Each miner can mine 100 bushels per day, making, for a force of fifty miners, 5,000 bushels per day, or 125,000 bushels per month, or 1,500,000 bushels per annum.

600,000 bbls. of coal, at 35c. per bbl., are	\$210,000
Deduct for expenses for mining and freight,	
as above stated, 600,000 bbls., at 12½c.	75,000

Leaving a net profit of 600,000 bbls., of	\$135,000
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This is exclusive of yarding and discharging at New Orleans, as the demand for steamships alone will be far more than we can supply with so small a force as 50 miners, but the force can be increased to any desirable extent.”

EDITORIAL.

We are now in the midst of war, and are acting upon the stage the same great drama which was acted by our fathers in 1776-'83. Conscious of our right, we have accepted the arbitrament of the sword, and before it is sheathed a perfidious enemy will find that the spirit of a glorious ancestry survives, and that Washington and Lee, Randolph and Jefferson, Marion, Moultrie, Sumter and Jackson still live. Every field within our limits will prove a Yorktown—every fortification a Moultrie! "God and our right"—a cry that will nerve us in every hour of danger and of trial, and be heard echoing and re-echoing in the hour of victory over many an ensanguined plain!

Our sons, our brothers, our companions are in the field, where all of us are ready to follow at the signal; and even our fair women pale not at the sight of arms, but familiarly handle them, and will, in the event, constitute no insignificant home guard. The slaves and the free blacks, recognizing no other destiny than that of their homes and their rulers, will constitute a powerful back ground of defence. They cannot be tampered with, as has been proved in the Revolution and in 1812, and our enemies will find it to their cost.

With ten millions of freemen—for that is the eventual force which may be relied upon—the South will be more than a match, when fighting upon her own soil and in sight of her own homes, for any twenty millions that could be organized against them.

Though the enemy be in number two to our one, he cannot bring against us those two—nor even half, nor in fact one-tenth of his numerical advantage.

Let the hordes of Alaric and Atilla come: a degenerate race does not

occupy the old Roman fields consecrated by the valor of the Scipios and Marius' of another age. To adapt the song of the Greek:

"The Alleghanies look on the Mississippi,
 And the Mississippi upon the sea;
 And in this glorious hour we feel
 The South shall yet be free!"

Referring to the military character of the South, Major Hill, of North Carolina, said, on a recent occasion:

"The armies of the Revolution were commanded by Washington, a Southern General. The officers, who distinguished themselves in an especial manner in the war of 1812, were Southern born and Southern bred—Jackson, Coffee, Harrison, Scott and Gaines. The commanding Generals in the Mexican war—Scott and Taylor—were both of Virginia. The Chief of Ordnance under General Scott, and the next most important officer, was Huger, of South Carolina. The Chief of Engineers was Lee, of Virginia, the only man the army acknowledges to be fit to be the successor to General Scott. The chief leaders in skirmishing were Lane, of North Carolina, and Hays, of Tennessee. The light batteries of artillery which did such wonderful execution at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Buena Vista and in the Valley of Mexico were generally under the command of Southern men—Ringold, Ridgely, Bragg, Washington, Steptoe and Magruder. The heavy ordnance was under the control of Huger, of South Carolina, and Laidley, of Virginia. The battery of mountain howitzers was directed by Reno, of Virginia. The dashing charge of cavalry at Resaca de la Palma, which has a world-wide reputation, was made by May, of Washington City. A far more brilliant affair was witnessed by ten thousand American soldiers drawn up in battle array on the beach at Vera Cruz, and by English, French and Spanish vessels-of-war in the harbor. A little steamer, armed with two heavy pieces of ordnance and manned by some twenty sailors, pushed up under the very walls of Vera Cruz, with its forty pieces of artillery, and within easy range of the formidable Castle of San Juan D'Ulloa, and from that position bombarded the city for half an hour. The officer in command was Tatnall, of Georgia, the same who, at the risk of his commission and his life, interposed last year and rescued the defeated British at the Peiho Forts in China.

"During the siege of Fort Brown, the pulley of the flag got deranged, so that it could not be raised. An officer climbed the staff, and, in the midst of a terrible tempest of shot and shell, calmly and deliberately arranged the halyards, righted the pulley and hoisted the flag. The exploit of Jasper at Fort Moultrie was as nothing compared with this daring deed. That officer was Hanson, of Washington City, a descendant of John Hanson, of Maryland, President of the First Congress, and of Col. John

Hanson Harrison, one of the most distinguished of Washington's aids. Years before the siege of Fort Brown, Gen. Worth had pronounced him the bravest man in the army. The storming column against the main work on Cerro Gordo Hill was led by that tried veteran, Harney, of Georgia.

"Major Hill adds, that the South has not merely evinced military spirit on the field, but in authorship. The books in use on Infantry Tactics were prepared by Scott, of Virginia, and Hardee, of Georgia. The Manual of Artillery Tactics in use, by Major Anderson, of Kentucky. The only works in this country on the Science of Artillery, written in the English language, are by Kingsbury and Gibbon, of North Carolina; and the only books on military engineering, by Mahan, of Virginia. The published experiments of Mordecai, of Virginia, convey all our information of the strength of gunpowder and of cannon, and the proper tests for their trial."

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the States which formed it were all slaveholding, and the extent of the national area was 820,680 square miles. Under the literal action of the Government, there has been annexed to the national domain since that period, by the purchase of Louisiana, 899,579 square miles; the Florida treaty, 66,900; annexation of Texas, 318,000; Oregon treaty, 308,052; Mexican war, 522,955; total, 2,115,484 square miles—out of which we have been enabled, thus far, to secure the States of Louisiana, with 41,755 square miles; Arkansas, with 52,198; Missouri, with 67,380; Florida, with 59,268. If to these we add Texas, with 237,504 square miles, the largest portion of which remains, to be formed into States, and which, under the recognized policy of the Republican party, cannot be admitted as slaveholding; and New Mexico and Utah, which are in a similar condition, we have a total nominal gain to the South of 458,105 square miles; but throwing off three-fourths of Texas and the whole of Utah and New Mexico, as in no event likely to accrue to our benefit under the action of the old Government had it survived, there remains but 279,473 square miles to the Southern States, against 1,836,011 square miles to the North, under the action of the old federal system.

This, however, is to say but a part

of the truth. Of the 899,579 square miles which comprised the national territory in 1789, an immense domain was owned by the State of Virginia, outside of her present limits, which being, by a large liberality, surrendered to the National Government, was converted from slave into free territory.

Thus may our people understand, in brief, the perfidious policy which actuated the old Government, and from which, with God's aid, we are in the fair way of escape.

The removal of the seat of the Government to Richmond we regard to be a happy stroke of policy in the present exigency. Its proximity to the theatre of war will have great advantages. The Executive should be near the theatre of action to take advantage of every contingency. Besides, the effect in Europe must be marked when it is ascertained that the capital of the *revolted provinces* has been advanced six or eight hundred miles in the direction of, and in the face of the vaunting foe! The effect upon the Border States, too, will be good. When it comes to a permanent seat of Government, we have no idea that either Richmond or Washington will be selected. Both are too near the line. With the entire South united, no other point can present the same advantage for the capital as the city of NASHVILLE. There let it be placed. The gallant people of Tennessee will well deserve the honor. We are ashamed of ever having allowed ourselves to doubt for a single moment of their coming. They have now abundantly atoned for any delay. We welcome them as brothers in the hour of direst need.

A recent visit to Montgomery enabled us to see the workings of our Government at its springs. The President looked brighter, more cheerful and in better health than we have seen him for many years; and the Cabinet are men who never sleep. Every department is well organized and in working order. Mr. Mem-

mingler is as much at home in the Treasury as was Alexander Hamilton; Mr. Benjamin is full of genius and resources, and Mr. Reagan, the Post-Master-General, will reduce to order the chaos of the mail service. But why particularize when all are indefatigable. Our stay at Montgomery was enlivened by many pleasing incidents, and we left with regret.

The glorious action at *Fort Sumter* excited to enthusiasm the entire South, and the world cannot yet understand how such a victory could have been secured without the loss of a life. The Yankees will not believe it. They certainly killed Beauregard and some hundred of the rebel Carolinians! The wish is at least father to the thought. From an admirable pamphlet description of the fight, issued in Charleston, we put upon record the following:

About eight o'clock, Fort Moultrie had commenced to pour in hot shot, to prevent the extinguishment of the spreading flames, and to kindle new fires in all the quarters. The fight between the two forts was terrific. At this time, Sumter fired fifty-four shots at Moultrie in one hour, tearing the barracks to pieces. But the work was vain. Moultrie was too much for Sumter. In five minutes, she returned eleven shots. At about nine o'clock the flames appeared to be abating, and it was apprehended that no irreparable injury had been sustained; but near ten o'clock, a column of white smoke rose high above the battlements, followed by an explosion which was felt upon the wharves, and gave the assurance that if the magazines were not exploded, at least their temporary ammunition was exposed to the element still raging. Soon after the barracks to the east and west were in flames, the smoke rose in redoubled volume from the whole circle of the fort, and rolling from the embrasures, it seemed scarcely possible that life could be sustained. Soon after another column of smoke arose as fearful as the first. The guns had been completely silenced, and the only option left to the tenants of the fortress seemed to be whether they would perish or surrender. At a quarter to one o'clock, the staff, from which the flag still waved, was shot away, and it was long in doubt whether, if there were the purpose, there was the ability to re-erect it. But at the expiration of about twenty minutes, it again appeared upon the eastern rampart, and announced that resistance was not ended. In the meantime, however, a small boat started from the city wharf, bearing Colonels Lee, Pryor and Miles, Aides to Gen. Beauregard, with offers of assistance, if, perchance the garrison should be unable to escape the flames. As they approached the fort, the United States' flag reappeared; and shortly afterward a shout from the whole

circle of spectators on the islands and the main announced that the white flag of truce was waving from the ramparts. A small boat had already been seen to shoot out from Cummings' Point, in the direction of the fort, in which stood an officer with a white flag upon the point of his sword. This officer proved to be Col. Wigfall, Aid to the Commanding General, who, entering through a port-hole, demanded the surrender. Major Anderson replied, that "they were still firing on him." "Then take your flag down," said Col. Wigfall; "they will continue to fire upon you so long as that is up."

After some further explanations, in the course of which it appeared that Major Anderson's men were fast suffocating in the casemates, the brave commander of Sumter agreed that he would, unconditionally, surrender, subject to the terms of Gen. Beauregard, who, as was said by Col. Wigfall, "is a soldier and a gentleman, and knows how to treat a brave enemy." When this parley had been terminated, another boat from the city containing Major Jones, Colonels Chesnut and Manning, with other officers and the Chief of the Fire Department and the Palmetto Fire Company came up to the fort. All firing had meantime ceased. The agreement to unconditional surrender was reiterated in the presence of new arrivals.

We have an article in the present number upon the subject of *Southern School Books*, and shall, in our next, suggest a plan, by means of which the South will be enabled at once to work efficiently in supplying the whole demand of her schools and colleges. Meanwhile we invite contributions and hints upon the subject.

There are many teachers among us who are now preparing works of more or less elaboration. One gentleman in Texas advertises in our pages a school arithmetic, and we have received the following letter endorsing its merits:

GONZALES, TEXAS, April 13th, 1861.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Esq.:

Dear Sir: Prof. M. H. Allis, who fills the Chair of Mathematics in the Gonzales College, has an *arithmetic* ready for publication, which he intends to issue early in July next. Having, in conjunction with others, examined the manuscript of Prof. A., I unhesitatingly pronounce it the very best of any with which I am acquainted. The method of the work (including the introduction of new principles in the science of numbers, the substitution of new definitions, the simplification of rules, and the introduction of an unusually large number of examples for advanced students) renders this work superior to any now in use, and cannot fail to make it popular and useful as a *Southern Text Book*. Another feature of this work is, that it contains a great amount of statistical information—a fact which I am sure you will appreciate. But I need not enlarge. As Prof. A. wishes to bring his work into notice through your Review, and I have cheerfully consented to write thus briefly, in order that you may have more data for any editorial remarks you

may be pleased to make than a single advertisement could furnish, I will only add, that anything you say, will be fully sustained by an examination of the work when issued.

Yours, respectfully,

A. A. BROOKS,
Pres. of Gonzales College.
THOMAS J. PILGRIM,
Pres. B. T. G. College.

We are indebted to Henry Hughes, Esq., of Mississippi, for a copy of his speech on the Administration of Justice, delivered at the Commencement of Oakland College, Miss. Like everything from this able gentleman, it is full of thought. Adverting to the growing indisposition to punish crime, he makes the following sketch of the late S. S. Prentiss, the famed orator of Mississippi:

So far as I can understand, the aversion to prosecute criminals is due to the influence and example of the gifted, generous and lamented Prentiss. Let his death ever be mourned with a sigh; let his life ever be honored with a smile. Prentiss was a citizen whose brain filled all his head and whose heart filled all his bosom. But witty, wise, learned as he was, he had more heart than head. I mean to say that his grand desires were grander than his grand talents. Such was his nature. His abilities did not equal his susceptibilities; what he could think did not have in it so much genius as what he could feel; his soul was more seraphic than cherubic; he therefore had the geniality of genius but not the heroism. For, after all, what is a hero? What is a hero but a worker of extraordinary good work—the greatest and best citizen. But Prentiss was not a hero. He was not monumental, not historic. So far as he worked for the people's good, the world, when he was lowered into his grave, was as miserable as the world when he was lifted into his cradle. He thus did nothing of which history can take note. He did not render with his precepts less the sum of human wretchedness. He developed no new truth, no new principle, no new invention, no new institution, no new enterprise, no new improvement; he rectified no public wrong; he made no change in State affairs. The reason is, he was a lawyer. He ought to have been a statesman and done a statesman's good. He should, in sublime devotion, have toiled to better the people's lot to make the poor less poor, the rich more happy, the ignorant more learned, the weak more strong, the sick more healthy, the ruffians more orderly. As a great, educated, unprejudiced, devoted and dispassionate statesman, Prentiss might have done something of that blessed sort, some such archangel's business. But as it was, the torrent of his eloquence turned no wheel to serve the people's weal. Thus, too much talent is sadly wasted, and malefactors purchase for a fee the genius which might have enriched, emblazoned and edified the commonwealth.

All over the South there are the most gratifying evidences of *progress in the arts and manufactures*, stimu-

lated by the presence of war and of non-intercourse. Artillery, small arms, gunpowder, and every description of missile are being fabricated; and necessity, which is the mother of inventions, will soon make us self-sustaining in everything. Direct trade with Europe will also be an accomplished fact. An English company have already proposed to the people of Charleston, and the proposal has been accepted. A Committee report to a meeting of merchants:

1. Mr. A. M. Weir, a very respectable gentleman of London, already largely interested in steamships, and Messrs. Laird & Co., whose reputation as builders of iron steamers is unrivalled, will agree to raise in Great Britain, one half the capital requisite for this enterprise if the remainder can be raised here. The proposed capital is £150,000, or nearly \$750,000.

2. A joint-stock company is to be formed in England, under the Limited Liability Act, in which the Charleston shareholders will be on the same footing with all others.

3. The company, once formed, is to build three iron screw propellers, and to place them in a regular line between Liverpool and Charleston.

4. The steamers are to be built by Messrs. Laird & Co., with special view to the peculiar necessities of our port and its commerce.

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The publishing establishment of the Review has been removed to Charleston, S. C. The work is now and will hereafter be printed by Evans & Cogswell, of that city, and in a style which cannot be surpassed by any establishment North or South. They have the most extensive material, and are prepared to execute every description of fancy and book work, and we predict will, in time, become the Lippincotts of the South. With capital and enterprise they have entered the field, and are now employed upon several elaborate military and other works.

The new Southern tariff will appear in our next, and we shall then endeavor to present a condensed statement of the main legislation of the recent Montgomery Congress.

NEW SERIES.

MAY & JUNE, 1861.

VOL. V—NOS. V & VI.

VOL. XXX.

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NOS. V & VI.

DE BOW'S REVIEW

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

ETC.



J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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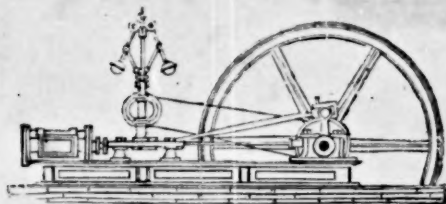
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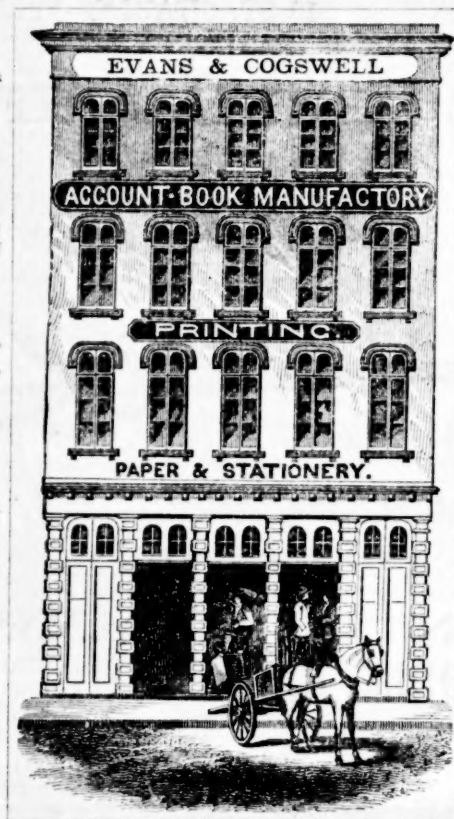
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The sales will be made here at the Company's Office, in Monroe, and the title passed before a Notary Public, at the expense of the purchaser; to which will be added one dollar to pay for cancelling the mortgage; and in case of a credit sale, outside of the parish of Ouachita, two dollars, to pay for recording the mortgage in the parish in which the land is situated.

If the purchaser cannot be present in person to accept the title, it will be sufficient, in case of a cash sale, for him to write a letter to some friend who may be present, requesting him to pay the money, and receive the title. But, in case the purchaser wants a credit on the land, he must be more particular, and give his agent a regular power of attorney, before a Notary Public, authorizing him to purchase and accept the title of the Land, which must be described, and the price specified, to make the cash payment, sign the notes, and execute the mortgage to secure their payment.

Agents are employed examining the Lands, and as fast as their returns are made, the price is set on every tract which has been applied for, and communicated to the applicant, and a reasonable time is given for his acceptance. But hereafter, when application shall be made for Lands which shall have been examined, the price and terms will be stated for that day, and the Land will not be suspended for the benefit of applicants, but we shall be free to vary the price or terms, or sell to others who may desire to purchase.

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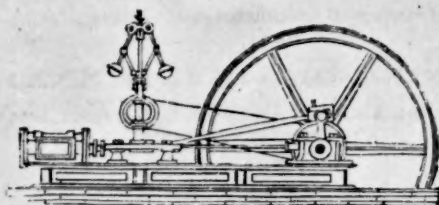
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